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Sir Peter's great debate

Last week the University Grants Committee sent out a circular letter that is quite unlike any other letter which the universities have received from Park Crescent. It asks for their views on almost every issue of higher education policy and practice that has ever been raised. Its explicit intention is to begin a great debate about the future of the universities. The 28 questions asked in Sir Peter Swinnerton-Dyer's letter and a commentary on them are printed on page 12.

The first and natural reaction to the UGC's new strategy is to welcome it as a breath of fresh air. The universities are being invited to participate in the planning of their own future with an open-minded generosity which apparently has not been characteristic of the UGC in the past. Every important item is on the agenda - closures and mergers, broader undergraduate courses, tenure and "new blood", a new deal for research subject balance, the unit of resource, privatization, continuing education, the future of the binary policy. The time frame is similarly capacious: the developing pattern of the universities up to the end of the 1980s is to be considered and only after 1995 do events disappear into the mists of future doubt.

A second and equally positive reaction is that the new strategy is a natural and perhaps inevitable consequence of the renewed vigour that the UGC has shown since the spring of 1981. After almost two decades of drift the committee during the last two and a half years has reasserted its leading role in the making of university policy. For the first time since the Robbins report the UGC has taken important and independent decisions about the future shape of the system. As it could hardly retreat from this new and more vigorous role, it had to go forward. Sir Peter's great debate is the natural consequence.

A third reaction is that the UGC has no choice but to open up the debate. On the wrong side of the binary tracks the National Advisory Body has exploited to the full the political support of both local authorities and the Department of Education and Science to which it is entitled by their direct participation in its work. The most recent result has been the £20m addition to the advanced further education pool at a time when talk of further cuts in the university grant is barely suppressed. The new UGC strategy therefore is in part an attempt to recapture the initiative that is in danger of slipping into the eager hands of the NAB. It is no accident that Sir Peter has stolen some of Mr Christopher-Bell's clothes, a more open system of decision making, widespread consultation, and a far-reaching debate with an open agenda.

Yet simply to conclude that Sir Peter has got it right and then to expect to sit back and enjoy an enthralling debate about the future of the universities would be particularly naive. The UGC, of course, cannot be held responsible for either the intensity or the quality of the debate that last week's hold-all letter will provoke. The precedents are not especially encouraging. The Leverhulme report which covered very much the same ground as Sir Peter's letter inspired little active interest, and the debate with the polytechnics and colleges was either about intensely practical questions like next year's money or taken place within the invidious intimacies of the NAB itself. The available evidence suggests that it is extremely difficult to get a debate started "out there".

Given this important question of practically to get a debate started, five issues remain that must be considered in arriving at a proper judgment on the wisdom of the UGC's new strategy. They are: qualifications rather than objects for the ultimate value of the strategy can hardly be doubted. The first is the danger of bogus participation. Sir Peter and his colleagues may be tempted to regard their initiative as a cynical ploy, seeing it as an exercise in educating the universities about the

grim realities of the 1980s rather than as a genuinely two-way process that might also educate the UGC.

Certainly that is not the spirit in which they are now approaching their great debate in its new down. But if both the intensity and quality of that debate are low, the temptation to collapse into cynical manipulation will obviously grow. Even today by mixing Sir Peter's known prejudices with the deep-rooted institutional preferences of the UGC it might be possible to make a fairly successful guess about the contents of the letter which the committee will send to Sir Keith Joseph next summer.

The second issue is simply whether some of the topics covered by Sir Peter's letter are really the business of the UGC. Some are the business of the DES and the NAB; some of individual universities. It is easy to sound stuffy and reactionary, but universities are independent corporations not UGC subsidiaries. They have the right to make independent judgments about their own futures. To assert this is not to appeal to some doomed regard for defence of constitutional rights that can no longer be squared with the reality of dependence but to insist on the entirely modern principle of pluralism. The universities should certainly consider Sir Peter's 28 questions but they should be put under no pressure to come up with convenient answers that conform to a common pattern. It

'A more disciplined debate that concentrated on the half dozen questions that universities must answer might have been more effective than the present sprawling debate'

would be a mistake to hope that the UGC's great debate should lead to a tidier university system.

The third issue is closely linked with the second. Is there a danger that the universities having been encouraged to take on a wide range of questions will pay less attention than they should to the immediate issues that must be resolved? In other words, is there a danger that they will not see the trees for the wood? The most immediate issue facing the universities is whether or not to reverse the "quality first" policy to which the UGC committed them in 1981 by reducing student numbers to protect the unit of resource (income per student).

It is not clear that taking part in Sir Peter's great debate will necessarily lead to clearer thinking on this fundamental question. Indeed, a case could be made for arguing that a rather more disciplined great debate that concentrated on the half dozen questions that universities must answer by the end of the decade might have been more effective than the present sprawling debate that includes any and every question of interest, many of which must be of peripheral relevance to many universities. Perhaps greater concentration and so coherence can be achieved in the course of Sir Peter's debate by some vigorous sifting.

The fourth issue is that the UGC letter must be seen in its proper context: the renewed strength of the committee since 1981 after almost two decades of being as not much more than the managing agent of the DES's money. The letter will be interpreted in a quite different and fundamentally misleading context if the revolution of the UGC's stand since 1981 is not seen as a genuine reassertion of its role as a major educational

There is even a slight danger that Sir Peter himself may see his letter in this distorted light.

This issue is important for two reasons. First, credit should be given to those to whom it is due. Sir Peter's present freedom to manoeuvre would not have been possible if his predecessor Sir Edward Parkes had not so courageously reassessed the UGC's right to make independent judgments in 1981. This is unaffected by the fact that some of those judgments may have been wrong in detail. Second, Sir Peter's initiative must build on the precarious Independence which the UGC has reestablished. It must be firmly seen as an attempt to enhance the sophistication of the UGC's own independent judgments, not as an intelligence gathering operation on behalf of the DES or an exercise in educating the universities in grim Josephine realities.

The fifth issue is simply the UGC's responsibility to exercise leadership. The example of the NAB shows that open and participative planning does not rule out firm leadership about fundamental priorities. The leaders of the NAB have made no secret of their commitment to achieving a better regional balance and to encouraging sub-degree and part-time courses, both of which send strong and clear signals to the polytechnics and colleges. The NAB's overarching priorities can be summed up in two words - access and jobs.

Under Sir Edward Parkes the overarching priorities of the UGC were just as plain. They were that quality should be put first, in the sense that no irreversible compromise should be made which would erode those values and practices characteristic of a university education and that the highest priority should be given to maintaining, and in some areas like social science improving, the intellectual capital of the universities. They could be summed up in two words, standards and values. Everything that was done in and since 1981 was consistent with them. That was the unit of resource, restructuring and "new blood" were the three principal battle fields on which the Parkes UGC fought.

There is a danger that just as the universities may fail to identify the trees for the wood the UGC itself may fall away from the solid principles with which it has been identified. The committee under Sir Peter of course may wish to modify its former principles. It may wish to place a little more emphasis on access and jobs (to steal a few more of the NAB's clothes) and a little less on standards and brains. But whether the UGC holds to its old principles or invents new principles it must send clear signals to the universities; it must exercise leadership.

In every debate, however open, there has to be an agenda. The only choice is whether that agenda is acknowledged or remains hidden. If it remains hidden there is always the danger of mis- or over-interpretation. For instance, Sir Peter's letter appears to give little emphasis to continuing education and a lot to the inevitability of a sharp drop in student numbers by the early 1990s. Is this a secret signal? Far from foregrounding the debate clear leadership from the UGC can give it greater coherence.

Perhaps this is the most difficult task facing Sir Peter and his colleagues in their great debate. They must exercise leadership by indicating their commitment to authentic values to which the universities are genuinely attached rather than displaying weakness by revealing their defence of privilege and Josipovic values (closures? privatization?) and the waxing and waning fads of Westminster and Whitehall. If they can succeed in holding this line and resist the temptation of bogus participation to focus the debate on the half dozen essential issues and accept that an undivided system may be a precondition of pluralism - the UGC's great debate could mark a significant and perhaps overdue improvement in the way we make university policy.

Laurie Taylor



Registrar Sir?

Is everybody now assembled? Yes, vice chancellor. Just apologies from Professor Koenigsberger whose overnight flight from Hongkong has had to turn back because of serious engine trouble, and from Doctor Piercemiller who's still fixing his garage roof after the recent heavy winds.

Otherwise everyone's here? Yes indeed, sir. A total of 28.

Excellent. Let us then begin. Ladies and gentlemen; members of the academic staff of this university; as you will know this is indeed an auspicious occasion for each and every one of us for the institution which we are proud to serve. But let me not delay the proceedings with more words. Bursar! Sir?

Will you now please lower the lights and draw the curtain. Certainly, sir. (The curtain slowly parts. The university choir sings the Hallelujah Chorus)

There! Isn't that a magnificent sight? Truly magnificent! (Cries of "Ah" and "Ooh")

Just look at those powerful young limbs. (Cries of "Aah" and "Oooh")

That firm stomach with no hint of bulge or droop. ("Aaah" and "Ooah")

The taut buttocks. ("Aaah" and "Oooh")

The sheer elegance of the movement. No lelltale stoop or crouch. ("Aaah" and "Oooh")

The clear-cut gaze. ("Aaah" and "Oooh")

The dark hair without a flick of grey. ("Aaah" and "Oooh")

The unlined forehead. ("Aaah" and "Oooh")

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN (Applause and cheers)

WILL YOU PLEASE WELCOME TO THIS UNIVERSITY

(Music rises to a crescendo. Hallelujah, Hallelujah)

DOCTOR CRESSWORTHY (Scenes of near panic)

OUR VERY FIRST (Total ecstasy)

NEW BLOOD APPOINTMENT

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Pym cash goes on students already in UK

by John O'Leary

Up to half the foreign students benefiting from the Government's £46m package to offset the effects of full-cost fees were already studying in Britain before the new arrangements were introduced.

Almost 4,000 students are being supported through seven different programmes launched last month. But because of the limited time available since Mr Francis Pym's February announcement, only about £10m will be spent in the current academic year and by no means all of the money will have the effect of increasing the flow of overseas students into the country.

Both the number of students aided and the proportion of new entrants will increase considerably next year. A decision to extend the life of the schemes beyond their current three-year terms is expected before the end of the month.

Representatives of four Government departments and several other organisations concerned with overseas students will meet today under the chairmanship of Mr Raymond Whitley, a junior minister at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, to discuss the progress of what has become known as the "Pym package". It will be the first of a series of round table discussions on questions relating to overseas students.

Two small new schemes have been added to those identified when the package was announced. One will directly exempt students from the Dependent Territories from full-cost fees by making up the difference with

fees charged to their home and EEC counterparts. The other is a shared funding scheme, identical to that now operated with Hongkong, for Bermuda and the Cayman Islands.

By far the greatest response to the new schemes has been from Hongkong, which with the British Government is jointly funding 1,700 students on courses this year. Inquiries about courses in Britain have more than doubled since the package was announced.

The late agreement of a scheme for Malaysian students has restricted numbers to 350 but 800 are expected in 1984. And in Cyprus the deadline for applications has been extended in the hope of filling 700 places to utilize the £1m set aside for the island's students.

The largest of the three schemes open to other countries, the Overseas Development Administration's technical cooperation training programme, has been given £4m to fund up to 800 students, while the existing Commonwealth scholarship fund received an extra £1m for 200 more students. A new discretionary awards scheme administered by the FCO itself has provided places for 160 students. It will not be known until early next year exactly how many of the award holders were already on courses, but officials concede that the proportion is high. Some of the students concerned were supported on other schemes last year and some would have been unable to continue their studies without new assistance. But there is bound to be criticism that the money has not all been spent on bringing new students to Britain.

Shadow minister accuses UGC

Mr Giles Radice, Labour MP for Clackmannanshire, the new shadow education secretary, this week accused the University Grants Committee of "locking almost unconstitutionally" a new, closer relationship with the Government.

Referring to the UGC's letter on a strategy for higher education, Mr Radice told *The Times*: "The UGC is not there to carry out the Government's policy before it even knows how much money it is going to have. I only hope that vice chancellors will question the basis of the letter."

Labour spokesmen will continue to challenge both the UGC's relationship with the Government and the committee's assumptions on the need for future cuts. They will be among the issues raised in a Commons debate on education likely to be held in the new year.

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£200m underspent on youth scheme claims union

by Patricia Sandinell

The Manpower Services Commission spent a £200m shortfall in spending on the Youth Training Scheme, it was claimed yesterday.

This comes at a time when several colleges of further education, notably Exeter in Devon, are said to be facing severe financial difficulties because of the shortage of trainees. Unoccupied places are not paid for.

The underspending claim has come from the National Association of Teachers in Further Education and Higher Education, which estimates that the shortfall of entrants to the YTS in some regions is 20 per cent less than the anticipated total of 460,000.

Mr Mick Farley, NATE's assistant secretary for further education put the claim forward at a seminar at King's College London before he took up his new post as secretary to the MSC.

returned to the Treasury but must be used to raise the quality of YTS. "Shortfall of funds is artificially restricting eligibility for entry to YTS and the length of stay on the schemes. It is hindering staff development and without staff training YTS could easily degenerate into job substitution of the sort which tarnished the Youth Opportunities Programme."

The MSC admitted that there would be a shortfall in spending but no one knew how much because youngsters were still joining the scheme. A spokesman said the commission was aware of the college's financial difficulties but the two issues were not necessarily linked.

The Youth Training Board is to set up a working party to look into the colleges' problem with members from the Association of County Councils, the TUC, CBI and careers representatives.

It will discuss MSC papers which rule out spending £10m to help colleges and other managing agents make up funds lost as a result of the shortfall in entrants. The paper proposes amending the eligibility rules to include special groups, former YOP participants and/or 18-year-old school leavers.

According to Department of Education and Science figures produced in a written answer to a Parliamentary question, the shortfall in entrants to YTS cannot be explained by a higher number of people participating in further education. These show that there has been a drop from 18 per cent last year to 13 per cent in 1983 if YTS trainees are not included.

But Mr Peter Morrison, under-secretary of state for employment, in reply to a written answer, said that there were indications that the number of school-leavers entering employment this year was substantially higher than last year.

He was unable to give recent figures, but said that in July the unemployment rate for under 18-year-olds was 21.3 per cent. However, MSC papers reveal that one of the reasons for the shortfall may be due to the Young Workers Scheme which is competing with YTS. The case of Devon and authorities similarly placed is to form the substance of a resolution going to the ACC education committee in December. It supports Devon's view that local education authorities should be reimbursed for the off-the-job training element of YTS.

Another resolution at the meeting concerns the experience of careers officers in two counties. They have been questioned by the Department of Health and Social Security about young people who are not on YTS but are claiming benefits.

The resolution is that careers officers should not refer young people and that when the DSS careers officers should consult careers officers at why youngsters are not on the scheme before they take any action.

Partnership to become norm for validation

by Karen Gold

The Council for National Academic Awards "Partnership in Validation" scheme, which has run experimentally in two polytechnics for two years, is to be extended to become the normal system in other institutions.

The council's committee for institutions this week agreed to set up a working party to consider how colleges and polytechnics could adopt a similar system to the one experimentally introduced in Newcastle Polytechnic in 1981. That system, which the committee judged an almost unqualified success and approved to continue indefinitely at Newcastle, involved joint validation committees with members from the CNA and the polytechnic, usually chaired by a CNAA member.

Polytechnic academic staff, both from the department whose course was being validated and from other departments, would be involved in all the validation procedures, including visits, while outside of its members partici-

lation in the joint validation committees, the CNAA virtually only gave its seal of approval.

About 30 new and existing courses were validated in this way during the experimental period; according to a polytechnic spokesman the scheme's advantage was that validation took place in context and with polytechnic staff present and involved, rather than CNAA coming in and giving its marks out of 100, he said.

The experiment at Kingston Polytechnic, which only put a CNAA observer on to the polytechnic's internal validation procedures but was then intended to put greater emphasis on these, was not thought by the committee to have worked so well, but will be retained at Kingston at least until next year.

The CNAA working party will not be looking for more experimental schemes, but will try to apply the essence of the Newcastle scheme to those institutions it thinks suitable for it permanently, the committee decided.

Don't make us martyrs, urges NUS

by David Jobbins

Universities were this week warned against adopting a "get tough" approach to student unions after two campus attacks on visiting Cabinet ministers.

The National Union of Students fears that anti-Government feeling among sections of the student population is being exploited by the Socialist Worker Party student wing and other left-wing groups.

It believes they were responsible both for this week's paint attack on Mr Michael Heseltine, the Secretary of State for Defence, at Manchester University and the scenes leading to a £30,000 fine on Warwick students' union during a visit by Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for education.

Mr Neil Stewart, the NUS president, said his own meetings were increasingly being disrupted by the SWP students and commented: "In both cases, the action was entirely contrary to union policy and played into the hands of ministers like Mr Heseltine who was able to dodge questions on Government policy."

"But we betide any university which adopts the Tebbitt mentality and tries to penalize the student union when its officers have tried to ensure that union policy is implemented peacefully. All they will do is to turn student unions into martyrs."

The fine at Warwick was imposed by a 28 to 2 vote of the university council which held the union responsible for its failure to control the demonstration.

Mr Jack Butterworth, the vice-chancellor, warned the union in advance of Sir Keith's visit that it would be held liable for any damage or violence. "The university council said: 'It was the responsibility of the union to control the demonstration and this the union palpably failed to do and made no proper arrangements to prevent violence occurring.'"

There is no likelihood of similar action being taken at Manchester, where the authorities are urging the union to do its best to control the situation.



Evil Professor Schmidt and his manic assistant Gregar, co-authors of a plot to poison the British water supply with a bralo-dissolving drug, have cornered the last man who could stop them... The outcome of this cliffhanger will never be known, since the Sheffield City Polytechnic communications arts students who made it only needed one to minute episode to win a £600 award for production and sound. The film *The Flak of Doom*, will be shown to a Saturday-morning Sheffield cinema audience soon.

DON'S DIARY

MONDAY

Last day of examinations, postponed from July because of student trouble. Only first years and finalists have been readmitted, which means that as we run a four-year degree course we have only half a college. Long discussion with Oxford researcher who was with us some months ago and has just returned from visiting the many refugee camps in the south. She is concerned with what she has seen, is already seeking contributions for a symposium towards an alternative strategy, and suggests a conference under university auspices next year. Agree to take this to the college academic board. Off to staff club in the evening to see one-man show by visiting British actor on the life and works of Oscar Wilde, arranged by the British Council. He is here for a fortnight, giving a number of performances and also coaching the local drama group, in which students of our college of adult education play a major part. No electricity in Staff Club, so hasty move to open space in front of student club on main campus for a very enjoyable couple of hours. The opening of a British Council office here last year has already been of benefit to the university and the area.

TUESDAY

Academic board (the dean and senior subject heads; three Sudanese, one Ghanaian, one Dutchman, one Brit) welcome idea of conference, as long as intending participants are fully apprised of conditions in one of the poorest parts of Africa, including difficulties of transport, and shortages of funds, power and accommodation. Since it is hoped to have some sessions in the camps themselves, it is important that the message gets across. The college has already a proposal for a Centre for Refugee Studies under consideration, feeling that some of the research is at the moment being undertaken in centres very far removed from the problems. We remain wary of accepting funding from international agencies, for this could limit both our freedom of action and our academic independence. Mail: Light aircraft flights, on which much of our mail comes from Europe via Nairobi, have been curtailed recently and today's delivery is the first for almost a fortnight. Letters from our children, both happily at school in England.

WEDNESDAY

After discussion with senior colleagues, send for typing final draft of college report to forthcoming university council meeting, our governing body. Recurrent crises for more staff, more equipment, better facilities, but all realize the country's plight and desperate shortage of hard currency and are willing to soldier on. On positive side, we are happy to draw council's attention to our revised curriculum, better integrated than ever before. The College of Social and Economic Studies embraces many subjects, from accounting and anthropology, to sociology and statistics, giving a general background in the first two years and allowing some student specialization thereafter. For the first time we feel we have the right mix. To our main lecture theatre in the evening for a public lecture on women's lib, given by one of our staff, an Indian from Tanzania, who has a long history of publications and data, addressed both a varied audience of students, staff, local and expatriate residents, lively discussion, but sadly not one Sudanese woman, either in Arabic or English.

THURSDAY

Meeting with the acting vice-chancellor, as have the dubious privilege of being secretary in the housing committee. The university is growing faster than the capacity of our contractors, so that our stock of more than 80 staff houses has to be augmented by renting more and more houses in the vicinity. Yet more staff are expected, some with their families, and we are in the familiar position of lacking immediate university accommodation for some of them, but all will get a roof over their heads somewhere.

In the afternoon referee a soccer match at the local stadium between teams representing the VSOs and the UN, both happily and wisely augmented by some local talent. As the VSOs won 7-3, it seems they were more careful in their selection. Talk with the secretary of the regional sports council about running an intensive referee's course for participants from each of the three southern provinces and agree that a long weekend would be sufficient.

FRIDAY

Financial management students all handed in their first assignment, a good start. Two examining panels today. Our third year students spend at least three months in relevant organizations, both working and collecting information to write up a research project. This is a major task, carrying half the year's marks and assessed both for its content and by oral examination. We met to consider the resubmission of two projects referred earlier this year; both students showed substantial improvement, both passed, both joyful as well they might be, for failure would have meant the end of their university career.

Game of doubles in the afternoon. Juba has but two tennis courts, very well-used. Am not up to the standard of some of my colleagues, but they tolerate my portliness because of my grey hairs, although partner, reasonably affectionately, calls me the mill-stonel.

SATURDAY

Down to the airport to meet the UN regional adviser for finance and administration with whom we work closely, who is returning from long leave accompanied by three staff members from the Institute of Local Government Studies in Birmingham. They send people here each year to advise and assist with training programmes and the university always tries to make maximum use of their presence. New faces and new ideas bring of great value in our customary isolation almost 1,000 miles south of Khartoum.

We entertain two bachelor colleagues to lunch and as ever spend the late afternoon and early evening listening to Sports Roundup on World Service. Sadly, the once-mighty Arsenal lost, but so did West Ham and Liverpool. Duplicate bridge at a colleague's house in the evening.

SUNDAY
At last! In spite of various references to recreation, we have a work pattern of 7am to 2pm and 6.30 to 8.30pm six days a week, so that Sunday is really welcome in its traditional form as a day of rest whereon we try to do little more than read or write letters. It is also a day for reflection. In conditions so remarkably different from those at home, it is easy sometimes to wonder what one is doing here. On the other hand, the opportunity and the stimulus of working in an expanding university with colleagues from no less than 14 countries is rare indeed and well worthwhile. At least we have the satisfaction of not merely working with, but living and making friends with the Sudanese which seems largely denied to expatriates in many of the agencies. Some who meet their indigenous colleagues at work then retire to the locked fastnesses of their compounds. Juba is an experience which, more than four years on, I am still glad to be undertaking, and I feel at least as usefully employed as in almost a decade in a senior position in a British Polytechnic.

Frank Rhodes

The author is professor and head of public administration and management at former dean of the college of social and economic studies.

Efficiency rules mapped out

by Paul Flather

Geographers are now confident that Government plans to turn the Ordnance Survey mapmakers' unit into a commercial operation will have to be abandoned.

Last week the Ordnance Survey's advisory board reported to ministers that there was no need to force greater commercialization to achieve their aims of greater efficiency and greater cost-effectiveness.

The advice comes after the Government defeat in the House of Lords in February when peers, led by Lord Shackleton, voiced their opposition to the idea of setting up a trading fund, as now used for the Royal Mint and HMSO.

The original proposals provoked widespread opposition from the scientific and mapping community, including the Royal Geographical Society and the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors, fearful that the survey's large scale mapping work would be undermined.

Almost 80 per cent of the Ordnance Survey's work is concerned with large and medium scale mapping, most of which could never be profitable. Last year the survey spent £31.7m on this kind of work, earning £9.7m in revenue, while £10.2m was spent on small scale work, earning £10.5m in revenue. It has 2,970 staff, down from 3,475 in 1980.

The advice has been given to Mr William Waldegrave, under secretary at the Department of the Environment, and a decision should be made before the end of the year. It is thought unlikely that the Government will be able to reject it.



Students demonstrate nationwide

A wave of occupations and other demonstrations against cuts in public sector higher education swept England and Wales last week.

Polytechnics in occupation included North London, Central London, City of London, Middlesex, Portsmouth, and Manchester. Ravensbourne College of Art was occupied for four days, while in Leeds, Liverpool, Portsmouth, Coventry, Manchester and London there were rallies and meetings to protest about the probable effects of the proposals from the National Advisory Body on public sector higher education.

Students from North East London Polytechnic organized a week-long demonstration in Downing Street and a meeting with Mr Francis Morrell, leader of the Inner London Education Authority.

At Middlesex a planned library work-in in protest at restricted opening hours hurriedly turned into an occupation when students were evicted from the library.

Above, students at West Midlands College of Higher Education, one of the colleges threatened with closure as a result of the National Advisory Body's plan for 1984/5, are addressed by Councillor Eric Allon, vice chairman of West Midlands education committee.

Brigadier George Hardy, deputy director of the RGS, said: "After all these months naturally we are very pleased with the advice. There are already signs that the OS work in large scale work is flagging."

The advisory board, headed by Sir Robert Clayton, lays down the conditions for making the OS more efficient: financial targets reviewed every three years; annual report and annual trading accounts to be published; and a rolling five-year budget to be drawn up with ministers.

Some geographers are worried that these conditions will force the OS towards greater commercialization and might also undermine the work of independent map publishers like Phillips, A to Z, and Bartholomew's. A meeting has been arranged for December to discuss this.

Research system criticized

by Jon Turney
Science Correspondent

The commissioned research system will not work as intended unless government pays much more attention to research in universities as well as research councils.

This is one of the conclusions of a book on government research sponsorship published this week. The authors, Professor Maurice Kogan and Mary Henkel of the department of government at Brunel University, say the Department of Education and Science has never been approachable on the kind of higher education system which is needed if commissioned research is to be maintained.

Their book, a detailed study of the history of research commissioning by the Department of Health and Social Security from the Medical and Social Science Research Councils, comes just a week after Sir Ronald Mason's report to the Advisory Board for the Research Councils which criticizes the "customer-contractor" arrangements for research.

Sir Ronald's report endorsed the general outlines of the customer-contractor principle instituted after the Rothschild report in 1972, but called for stronger chief scientists' offices in government departments. Professor Kogan's book suggests the problem is more complex than this on at least two counts.

First, the book suggests that there is a set of issues which have not been properly addressed by government - questions of the balance between teaching and research, the inducements given to established academics for participating in commissioned research, the training of researchers in different fields.

In addition, they suggest that identifying a government department as "customer" and a research council as "contractor" is too simple a metaphor for interaction between two very complex organizations, with different goals, interests, and world views. In a series of detailed case studies, they show how the DHSS and MRCS attempts to work together were often bedevilled by misunderstandings and disagreements borne of different views about the role of research in policy-making and government priorities in science policy.

Government and Research - The Rothschild Experiment in a Government Department, Heinemann Educational Books, £18.50.

Badges ban challenged

by David Jobbins

A lecturer's refusal to teach students wearing Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament badges is to be challenged in Southampton University's next senate meeting.

But Dr Alec Samuels has received the support of his colleagues. Professor Gerald Dworkin, for his ultimatum to two law students to remove their badges or leave his tutorial.

Dr Samuels is unrepentant despite criticism from Southampton students and staff and also from the Campaign for Academic Freedom and Democracy.

Professor Dworkin, dean of the law faculty, said: "I was angry at meeting last week that Dr Samuels was entitled to insist that no political badges were worn in his tutorials. Dr Samuels told the same meeting that he was entitled to the authority which enabled him to insist this and that without it he could not teach."

The students' union this week called for a full and open senate debate on the grounds for Dr Samuels's action. The case raises fundamental questions about the duties of academic staff and their rights to pick and choose students.

Professor John Saville, professor of economic and social history at the University and chairman of the CAFD, said: "Provided students do not disrupt classes the issue of principle is absolutely clear and is an absolute principle, that you are obliged to teach those who present themselves to be taught. It is a basic principle of university life."

The issue was raised at last weekend's Student CND conference, where delegates wanted to try to raise grades "are right, according to Dr Edwards."

"The polytechnic's academic committee agreed to look at the link further, despite questions being raised about St Aldate's interest, the background of the scholarship students, and the fact that the polytechnic might have Academic committee member Dr John Farquhar said that although the students from St Aldate's might be subject to departmental admissions requirements, they would still be at the top of the queue."

Poly considers link with private college

Middlesex Polytechnic is considering a link with a private Oxford tutorial college, in which polytechnic departments would help open the college's scholarship positions and then consider them for polytechnic places after their A levels.

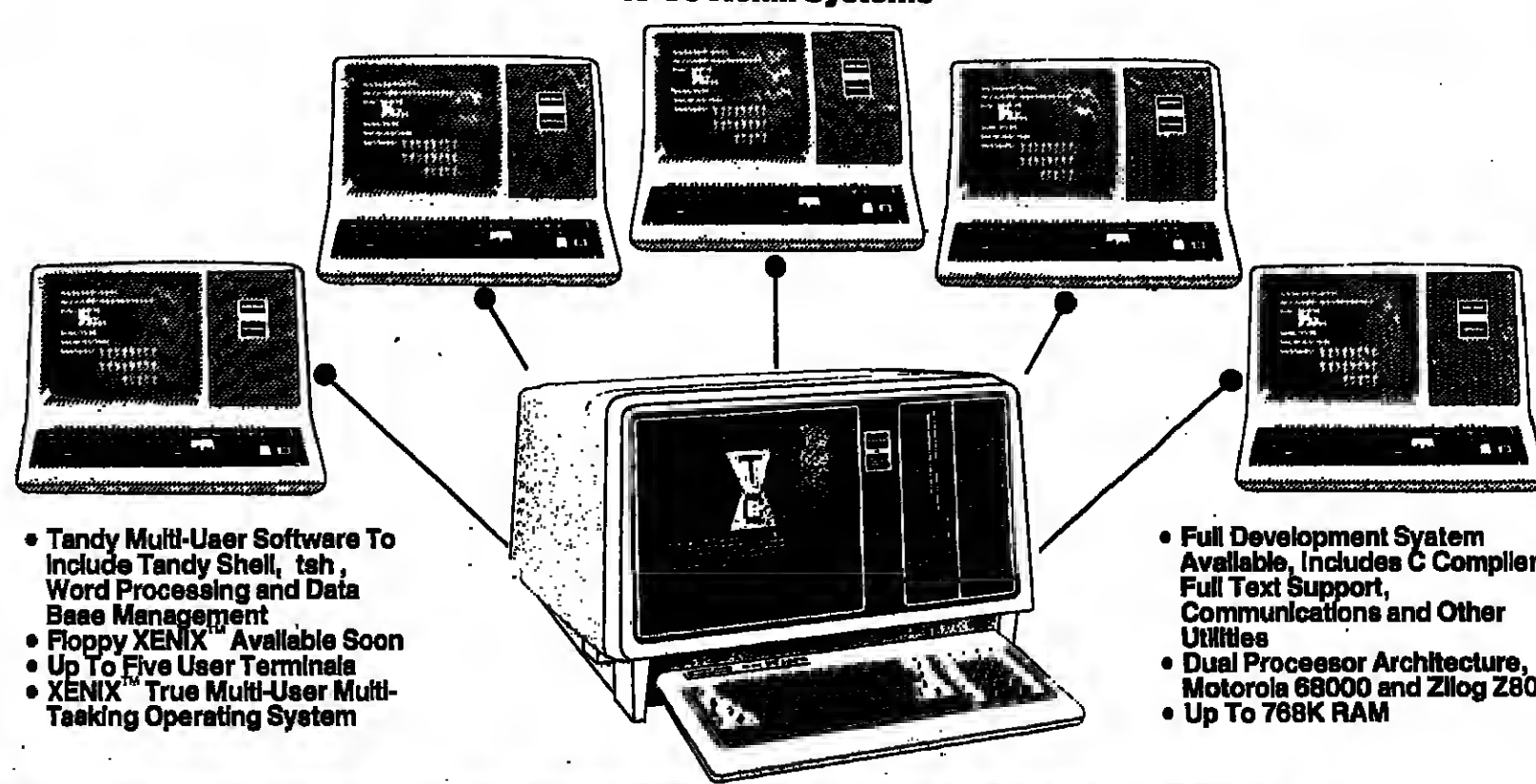
Two senior members of the polytechnic directorate are to visit St Aldate's College, Oxford on Monday to look at its provision. One is Middlesex deputy director Dr Michael Edwards, who outlined the proposal in a letter to the college. The scholarship students would be for students from deprived backgrounds.

Students not having to conform to Middlesex entry requirements or having "guaranteed" places even if their grades "are right, according to Dr Edwards."

The polytechnic's academic committee agreed to look at the link further, despite questions being raised about St Aldate's interest, the background of the scholarship students, and the fact that the polytechnic might have Academic committee member Dr John Farquhar said that although the students from St Aldate's might be subject to departmental admissions requirements, they would still be at the top of the queue."

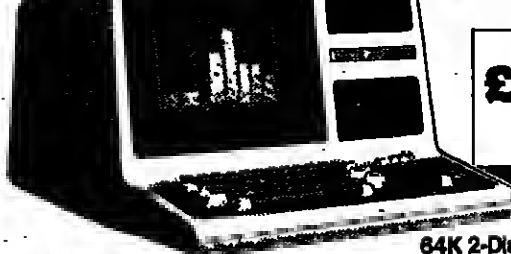
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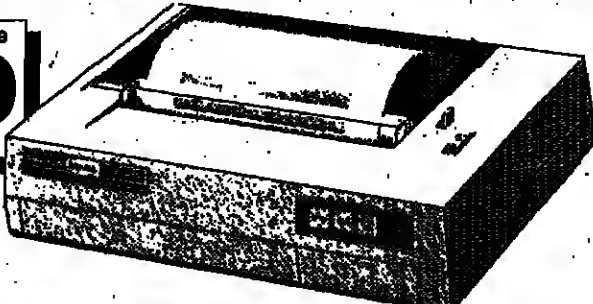
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Art thinking out-of-date, out-of-place

by Owen Surridge

Traditional academic research attitudes were castigated as irrelevant and out of date at a meeting of 200 art teachers in London last week. The meeting, arranged by the art and design department of London University's Institute of Education, was prompted by anxiety about what is seen as a growing gap between art academics and art teachers.

Professor Leslie Perry, of the University of London told the conference bluntly: "We have to get away from the idea of scholars who get on with their own work, which is strictly of interest only to themselves and of limited consequence." Arguing the case for team research and more scientific methods, he said there was a need for a thorough, wide ranging inquiry which would benefit teachers in classrooms.

He warned though, that the results of such research should not be seen as panaceas. "Art educationists tend to take over the research results of pure theorists," he said. They really needed to interpret results to fit their own situation. "The results of many very worthy projects needed to be hooked at again learning in mind where the results will be applied."

Professor Perry said that new social pressures on education demanded research of a very different kind from the academic tradition. The need now was for research projects designed to supply specific answers which could be applied in the field.

He said that too often teachers and their classes were volunteered for projects by head teachers without being asked. "We cannot expect results from people who resent us being there and we must remember that a class is there to be taught," he said.

Mr Donald Earle, head of an art department in an Essex comprehensive school, attacked what he described as "the new and terrible policy of CNA", which was about to award MPhil and PhDs to painters and others. He also condemned as "incredibly misguided" the Royal College of Art's intention to introduce a new award called Doctor of Art.

The Pru serves writ on Southwark

The Prudential Assurance Company has served a writ on Southwark Borough Council, demanding that it fulfils its contract to sell land to the proposed South Bank Polytechnic Technopark.

The deadline for the contract passed 10 days ago, with the council refusing to sell the land for the £4.5m technopark, unless the Prudential promised to develop the whole project in one rather than in two stages.

Southwark has 14 days to respond to the writ, after which a date will be fixed for a court hearing. But the council this week wrote to the company and the

Brain research funding cut

by Jon Turney
Science Correspondent

The European Science Foundation, like most of its subscribing members, is struggling to support new programmes on a fixed budget, without abandoning worthwhile existing projects.

At its annual assembly in Strasbourg last week, plans were approved to shed responsibility for some of the funding required by its established European Training Programme in Brain and Behaviour Research. But despite this, the assembly heard there were still problems meeting budget requirements for at least one major new initiative, a social scientific study of second language learning by adult immigrants.

The brain and behaviour programme, which has funded fellowships, travel grants and collaborative projects since 1976, now costs the 10 member countries of the ESF £150,000 a year. The organizations putting up

this money will now have to find extra cash as the programme has been changed from an "associated activity" of the foundation to an "associated activity" in 1985. The latter category, invented this year, means that the foundation wishes to carry on the programme but will not pay any of the overheads in the past.

The ESF's president, Professor Henri Cullen of the National Space Studies Centre in Paris, explained that the foundation could not start new projects without shedding some old ones. Member organizations, which in Britain include the research councils and the British Academy, generally had fixed budgets themselves, and the foundation had to stop their contributions rising.

New activities reported to the assembly included a working group in environmental toxicology, working on behalf of the European Commission, and pilot studies to see if the ESF could act as an umbrella organization for similar countries seeking a part in

ocean drilling projects.

In future, the foundation will be looking to improve its contacts with the US and, possibly, Japan, Mr. Cullen said. A recent joint meeting of the European Science Research Councils and the US National Science Foundation in Washington to evaluate research and set priorities had shown there was a will in the US to find a partner in Europe for discussions about planning big projects, he said.

In the European context, he stressed that the foundation wanted to act as the voice of the scientific community when governments were considering cooperation in research, but did not wish to play the same role as the Council of Europe or the European Commission.

"We are proud to represent the scientific community, not the bureaucratic community, in Europe," he said. The foundation would continue to try and influence European science policy from the side of the scientists.

Women architects build network

There should be more women teachers in schools of architecture to help counter the imbalance in the education and professional experience of the sexes.

A conference on women in architectural education held at Morley College, south London attended by teachers, students and practitioners felt that more women architects should put their names forward to schools to do part-time teaching as many female students felt isolated with no female staff at some schools.

Careers advice for girls at school who wanted to study architecture was often off-putting. They were told the training was very arduous and they had to have studied both mathematics and art before being considered for a course.

Statistics show that men are four times as likely to reach the top grade within the profession as women. The proportion of women continues to rise slowly but unemployment has risen by 4 per cent while it has dropped among male architects.



Brighton Polytechnic hotel and catering students made a six foot iced sponge cake, pictured here held by tutor Alan Huelin for a Young People's Variety Club of Great Britain charity gala evening at Kensington.

Commercial cash

A new company devoted to commercialisation of ideas from universities, departments and government research establishments was launched last week. Business Applications of Science and Engineering (BASE), chaired by Sir Henry Chilver, vice-chancellor of Cranfield Institute of Technology, has £450,000 of initial capital from Royal Life Insurance, TR Technology Investment Trust and the BP peak fund.

The company, based in Milton Keynes, will also cover contract research organisations, which will take up the Ministry of Defence's new scheme to transfer technology from research laboratories to civil sector companies.

Doctors' orders

The three Royal Colleges of Physicians, in Glasgow, Edinburgh and London, have been asked to step up their involvement in medical education overseas. An international conference on postgraduate medical training in Leeds last week called on colleges to explore how they could improve their help to development of medical examinations overseas, and how they could encourage foreign doctors with suitable qualifications to take postgraduate courses in Britain.

PRIME site

Plymouth Polytechnic is to have its largest American-made PRIME computer in the United Kingdom, following a decision by Devon County Council to spend over £200,000 on the new computer in exchange for council taking back the polytechnic's present smaller one. The PRIME 9950 will be used for all polytechnic's teaching and research work.

Crowded journey

More than 2,000 people applied for the British Council's 30th anniversary travel awards, worth a maximum of £1,000 each, in the first 10 days of advertising. The awards enable the winners to spend between three weeks and three months abroad on a project contributing to closer cultural relations between Britain and other countries, are restricted to applicants between 25 and 60 and will be distributed next March. Proposals of about 500 would must be submitted by December 2.

New development

Professor Peter Williams, head of the department of education in developing countries at London University's Institute of Education, has been appointed director of the Commonwealth Secretariat's education programme. He will take up the post next July.

objectives second.

The UGC's great debate will be genuinely effective only if it allows for consideration of the needs and objectives of higher education first, and discussion of the numbers second. I believe that such a reassessment might well show that we should be increasing student numbers and educational resources through the 1990s, not reducing them as demographic trends might at first indicate. Technological progress is putting an ever increasing emphasis on high ability levels throughout industry and the service sector and in leisure time activities, pointing to the need for more resources for higher education.

My column last month was called "The challenge of the space age". It is worth remembering that we are already in the space age and that the challenge must be met now. Only when the educational establishment takes up the challenge, partially suggested by the UGC, and persuades Government to do the same, can it expect to escape from the jungle of statistics that makes up the numbers game.

The University Grants Committee's letter to the Vice-Chancellors is a good start. However, it is significant that the first two core recommendations are based on financial and cost considerations. Once again, the numbers game.

Ian Wigglesworth
The author is Special Demand for Stockton South.



Some local despotism in disguise

The powers of the Scottish Education Department are notoriously despotic. Nowhere is this more true than in the case of the central institutions.

For years they have benefited from the paternalism of the Scottish Education Department; growing while others languished, protected from the several cuts while others were surgically dismembered. Now the knives are out and we have learned the old lesson that all despots turn nasty in the end.

As direct grant institutions, the central institutions have always been open to financial manipulation by the Secretary of State. Recently, however, his powers have been extended and made more explicit. Under the 1980 Education (Scotland) Act, he now has authority to determine the courses, curriculum and student numbers in public higher education in Scotland. There are no restrictions as to his use of these powers; no University Grants Committee, no National Advisory Body, no powerful local authority to intervene, or delay, or raise democratic objections.

This places him in a quite unique position. Only his general responsibility in Parliament masks the nakedness of this "despotism"; and who at Westminster will notice or care about this one small item among the enormous range of his economic and social responsibilities in Scotland?

Increasingly this power is being used quite candidly. In each of the last three years the colleges of art and the Royal Scottish Academy of Music have been forced to operate with fewer staff.

This plan, however, has never been made public; nor have its criteria and objectives been debated or agreed. When challenged, the need for consultation is denied, on the simple grounds that the Secretary of State can do what he likes.

Then six months ago, in a swash-buckling display of unilateral power, Paisley College of Technology was instructed without warning to reverse its long-standing policy of development in vocational social sciences.

Now, at Queen Margaret College in Edinburgh, the governing body is being put under intense pressure to reveal from a formal agreement with this association concerning the fate of five members of staff. Since the governors insist that they must honour the commitments they have given, the SED threatens a series of financial penalties designed to force their hand.

The general message is clear: if governors persist in governing by their own lights, then the SED will make the colleges ungovernable.

Unhindered by all this, the SED proposes to "commandeer the three remaining advanced further education colleges in Scotland, which are run by the local authorities. Thus its domination will be complete. However, to disguise the blatantly despotic nature of this ambition we are to have a Scottish Tertiary Education Advisory Council.

This is no "MacNAB" however. For it will have no authority to discuss funding, no right to set its own agenda. It is a device to see how it can be "say" less invisible and important than the Council for Tertiary Education. It replaces and which has proved to be a truly paper watchdog.

It is a sad state for a nation which prides itself on its educational tradition and its democratic intellect.

Jack Dale
The author is Secretary of the Association of Scottish Tertiary Education Centres.

Civil service's chief recruiter goes on tour

by Paul Flather

"Well, are you from Oxbridge?" Mr Dennis Trevelyan, the Civil Service First Commissioner, responsible for recruitment, admitted that he was, and immediately all the old fears about Oxbridge bias within the service became apparent.

Mr Trevelyan was speaking to about 20 students from the University of Kent at Canterbury, as part of a new tangle of provincial universities aimed at casting a wider net for the mandarins of the future.

He has already visited the universities in Swansea, Manchester, Exeter, Durham, and Bristol, and will visit Nottingham later this month. Further visits to new universities and polytechnics are scheduled for 1984.

At Kent he moved quickly to dispel fears about Oxbridge favouritism. He said: "It really does not matter which university you come from. The people who mark the papers don't know the sex or university of a candidate."

"I do want to see many more people from new universities in the civil service. I don't just want the treble first - I want the good all-rounder, the sort who can come out of the ivory tower, who does not write deathless prose."

The students were also keen to know what happened if their views conflicted with those of the Thatcher government. Mr Trevelyan said

views were important. "What matters is how you arrived at those views and how you support them."

"If you are not interested in politics with a small p, don't come into the service. You will be bored. We don't want political encephalitis. If you are secretary of the Communist Society we will say - well he's got views."

Mr Trevelyan was out to rout all the myths that the service was boring, hierarchical, unexciting, dead, against women and modelled on Yes Minister. Pay levels ranging from £5,800 to £8,078 for the fast-stream administrative trainees (ATs) - were never raised, while job security seemed much sought after.

He said, the service wanted people who were well informed, able to deal with varying problems such as the Icelandic fish row, where the Elgin Marbles belonged, and local government reform.

The tour, the first at such a senior level, was organized following the Atkinson report on civil service recruitment earlier this year which expressed concern about the lack of non-Oxbridge candidates entering the civil service.

Last year the civil service found just 24 of the 41 ATs it was seeking, and 17 were from Oxbridge, although they made up just 6 per cent of those taking the tests. This year it had 60 AT vacancies and accepted



47. There are also 2,800 executive officer posts, at least half to be filled by graduates.

The commission has set up a working group to consider reforms in the tests, already reckoned to be about the most sophisticated for graduate recruitment in Britain. They want particularly to follow Atkinson and find ways of recognizing

candidates with a "thrilling and forceful personality" who can nevertheless work in teams.

The Kent students said they found it very useful. "It seems more dynamic than their literature," said one. But another still feared the Oxbridge yoke. "Seemingly will be believing. Not many from Kent are successful which in itself puts me off," she said.

Tribunal recognizes APT case

by David Jobbins

A county council is to appeal against an industrial tribunal decision handed by a non-TUC union as a breakthrough in its battle for full recognition.

The Association of Polytechnic Teachers believes that the finding against Cleveland County Council over the refusal of time off for health and safety duties for five of its members at Teesside Polytechnic will help it secure local recognition from other education authorities.

The tribunal was told that the association had a large number of members at the polytechnic, 50 per cent of them in science departments where the greatest potential risks lay. But the director, Dr Michael Longfield, refused the association's five safety representatives time off to carry out inspections.

Although the tribunal accepted that given a free choice, Cleveland would not have wished to negotiate with the APT on salaries, it found that the Association of County Councils had been involved in negotiations in the Burnham further education committee, where the APT had had a seat

since December 1981.

"In these circumstances we feel obliged to come to the inevitable decision that the respondents (Cleveland) have recognized APT since December 23, 1981," says the tribunal's statement.

The tribunal also decided that the APT had recognition at Teesside on the basis of six years of correspondence with members of the association. Dr Tony Pointon, the APT's national secretary, said Cleveland's decision to appeal, at the risk of further cost to which the authority had been subjected, more than one stage will be needed. One option would be to extend the senior lecturer, principle lecturer and head of department scales upwards by two or more increments to achieve future parity at no immediate cost.

Leaders of 16,000 university white collar workers are to finalize details of a 10 per cent claim today. The national universities committee of the National and Local Government Officers Association is certain to decide to pursue the claim half as a flat rate payment and half as a percentage to benefit the lower paid. They are also seeking to move the settlement date to April 1 in line with all other campus unions.

The expected rush of local recognition agreements after APT won its Burnham seat nearly two years ago failed to materialize. But the association obviously expects that if the decision is upheld on appeal obstacles

to full recognition at every level will have been removed.

Although the APT won a seat on Burnham, it has never been admitted to membership of the teachers' panel which conducts negotiations with the employers.

Parity with the universities is the main aspect of proposals for the APT's salary claim drawn up by the association's executive for ratification by the national council later this month. An firm mechanism has yet been decided upon, but association leaders accept that more than one stage will be needed. One option would be to extend the senior lecturer, principle lecturer and head of department scales upwards by two or more increments to achieve future parity at no immediate cost.

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Alvey advances programme into two universities

Two universities are involved in the first four projects shortlisted for large-scale backing under the Alvey programme for advanced information technology, which were announced last week.

Mr Laurence Clarke, deputy director of the programme for the Department of Trade and Industry, named four large-scale "demonstrator projects" to be studied by ICL, GEC, Royal Research and Marconi Avionics.

Six more will soon be commissioned and half of the total will then be picked for support throughout the five-year, £350m programme. Each of the pilot studies will cost the Government between £50,000 and £100,000.

Edinburgh University artificial intelligence department will work with GEC on factory automation. The academic input, which is 100 per cent Government funded, will include plans for an "expert system" for computer-aided design. Loughborough University will work with Royal to design mobile information terminals.

The idea of demonstrator projects outlined in the report which led to the Alvey programme has been criticized both for setting over-ambitious targets and not paying enough attention to potential markets. The DTI believe each of the projects shortlisted could be exploited rapidly by the main contractors to open up substantial new markets.

The American computer manufacturers Hewlett Packard have just announced a £10m investment in a new research centre in Bristol, where the company expects to employ 200 scientists by 1987.

The new centre was announced with the blessing of Mr Norman Tebbit, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, but some British companies fear increasing competition for computer scientists, particularly software specialists, as the output of computer science graduates from British universities declines.

Mr David Boldwin, the American company's UK managing director, said that the new centre would lead to greater contact with British universities. Last year the company gave \$30m to American universities to help research, although Mr Baldwin said British universities were a disincentive to do the same in this country.

Joint scheme

A big step forward in technicians' education and training in engineering was taken this week when the Business and Technician Education Council and the Engineering Industry Training Board agreed a joint certification scheme for England and Wales.

The scheme will enable trainees who gained a relevant BTEC national or higher national award to be eligible for joint certification at technician and technologist engineer levels.

Once demand had been identified for a course the financial disincentives to institutions would have to be tackled and employers would need to be paid selectively for taking it up.

Mr Alan Davies, Cranfield's academic secretary, said that costing relied on complete delegation to the departments backed by minimal central institutional services. The provision was "market led" in consultation with employers and associations.

Courses short on funds

by Felicity Jones

A national expansion of continuing education would be more expensive than has been fully appreciated, Cranfield Institute of Technology told the University Grants Committee working party on continuing education.

Short courses involve high contact hours of at least 30 hours a week; a heavy administrative load due to the rapid turnover; senior rather than junior staff for advanced courses; better teaching and residential facilities for senior post-experience students; costly promotion and expensive developmental costs, the institute pointed out.

Cranfield claims continuing education is a mainstream activity, with over 5,000 students on its programmes this academic year on a larger scale than any other institution in the areas of advanced science, engineering and management.

"While the principle of the industrial employer paying the realistic cost of courses is generally accepted at CIT, we are not sure that the level of these costs is generally realized," the Cranfield paper said.

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Karen Gold reports from the Association of Metropolitan Authorities' annual conference in Birmingham

Scheme is 'utter flop'

A series of motions were passed by the conference on the Government's Youth Training Scheme, calling for no political or curriculum interference from the Manpower Services Commission, an increased payment to the trainees, a maintenance allowance for all 16 to 18-year-olds engaged in education or training, and an expression of support from the Government for the education service's provision of courses for this age group.

Councillor Bernard Atha (Lab, Leeds) argued that the MSC's insistence that political teaching and activity for participants in YTS courses would lead to the closure of the course was a dangerous move towards the centralization of the curriculum.

Councillor Ron Anderson (Lab, Brent) said that there was no doubt whatever that YTS has been a complete flop. "YTS may have the honour of being the shortest experiment in history," he added. Despite Brent's moral and political objections to the scheme from the start, it did not want to see it fail, and was giving trainees additional money and off-the-job training to improve it — something which should be adopted throughout the country, he said. But Councillor Paul Cleave (Con, Kingston) said that parents should take all their own responsibility for supporting their children. "The fact is that £25 (the current weekly YTS payment) is a fairly reasonable amount of money, which their brains are capable of earning at school. I don't want to go to university don't receive."

Authorities row over NAB

The metropolitan education authorities have agreed after a behind-the-scenes battle to keep their three representatives on the committee of the National Advisory Body, which meets this weekend.

Liverpool local education authority wanted both the Association of Metropolitan Authorities and the Association of County Councils to leave the NAB until it provided adequate funding for the advanced further education pool and guarantees that neither standards nor access would decline. The authority withdrew its call after a stormy meeting of the AMA's Labour group before the conference began.

Instead the AMA's annual conference agreed a compromise motion, put forward by the Inner London Education Authority which divided the Tory group on the association. The motion called on the AMA and the ACC to demand adequate funding for the advanced further education pool and to seek guarantees that standards of education and access would not decline.

"This meeting notes with great concern that the proposals of the NAB will severely reduce educational standards and opportunities throughout local authority higher education," it also said.

Councillor Bela Gnanapragasam, of the Inner London Education Authority, proposed the motion and said that support for the representatives on the NAB was subject to the authority putting pressure on it to provide the resources necessary to maintain standards and access.

Councillor Dominic Brady, chairman of Liverpool's education committee said that his authority supported the ILEA motion and would support remaining on the NAB so long as it protected standards and access, and provided a forum for long-term regional planning of public sector higher education.



Nicky Harrison, chair of the AMA education committee with John Peerman, vice-chair.

al planning of public sector higher education.

"At present there doesn't appear to be a clear, rational and long-term future plan for higher education in this country. The planning that appears to be on the agenda of this Government for the next few years is that higher education will be cut back still further," he said.

"If the AMA, through NAB, can attempt to change the plans, then certainly Liverpool can support it. But at present Liverpool does have some misgivings about whether that situation can be achieved through the NAB."

If the situation would not improve, then Liverpool would have to think seriously about returning to the original resolution to pull out, he added.

White Papers 'curb powers'

Two Government White Papers, on rate reforms and on abolishing metropolitan county councils, were a fundamental change in English constitutional government, the AMA conference heard.

Councillor Mike Bower, chairman of Sheffield education committee, proposed a motion that the AMA education committee view with concern the constitutional implications of the White Papers *Rates and Streamlining the Cities*. "Both moves are an attempt to curb local decision-making powers, which is a matter of concern to all local authorities," he said.

The motion continued to express "grave concern at any plans to curb the power of local authorities to determine the level of expenditure necessary to maintain and improve education standards in this area." It was carried by 26 votes to 14.

The leader of the Inner London Education Authority, Councillor Frances Morrell, pointed out that the second White Paper gave the Secretary of State direct rule and control over the budget of the authority. "I would say beware voting for the principle that Government should take over rights of a local council for an arbitrary period, and then return them later when it has overturned all the policies the local electorate has voted for," she said.

But Councillor Brian Meadows, Birmingham, said that rate increases undoubtedly played some part in inflation, and two elections had been fought on that subject. "If the Government has not been taking these powers, they would have to say to every authority 'Write yourself a blank cheque,'" he said. "I applaud the Government for grasping this nettle, even though it hurts."

Report urges end to MSC

A call for the abolition of the Manpower Services Commission and the replacement of its training initiatives with a training voucher system has come from the Adam Smith Institute.

In a report *Employment Policy*, the Institute says there is little justification for the existence of the MSC. It duplicates functions of the Department of Education and Science and the recruitment and training activities could be more cheaply and efficiently carried out by the private sector.

The report claims that there is considerable evidence that the training carried out by the public sector is twice as expensive than equivalent private sector training.

The dual youth and adult training voucher system proposed by the Institute would replace the United Vocational Programme, apprentice support, the Training Opportunities Programme, the community enterprise programme and the New Training Initiative.

"The youth training vouchers would provide a set period of training as under the present Youth Training Scheme, but would buy an extended period of training without secondment to industry and commerce which damages the youth labour market," the report says.

It adds that private sector entrepreneurs wishing to be involved in training young people eligible for vouchers would be licensed by the Government to do so and would be responsible for paying them an allowance of £25 a week. Unemployed young people not wishing to participate would be eligible for supplementary benefits.

"Adult training vouchers should be available to unemployed adults, the value of the voucher being limited to the price of the cheapest available courses which provide the needed skills," the report says.

It stresses that the size of the accompanying allowance would have to be set so that unemployment benefits for training were genuine. An alternative to vouchers would be credits for employers of the time spent on training.

Employment Policy is available from the Adam Smith Institute, 10 Bedford Way, London WC1N 6AU. Tel: 01-637 4141.

Minister admits to 'rough justice' of travel payments

by David Jobbins

Students have been warned by a minister that plans to change the way travel expenses are repaid will mean "rough justice" for some.

Mr Peter Brooke, under secretary for higher education, told MPs the Government felt that the present arrangements under which separate claims for actual expenses exceeding £20 are submitted by individual students were "extremely expensive" to administer.

Not only did the arithmetic of each claim have to be checked, but the accuracy of bus and train fares verified, a task further complicated because 90 per cent of claims related to authorities other than the students' grant-awarding one.

A change in the system was shelved before the general election but Mr Brooke has firmly put it back on the agenda for 1984. Two options were then being considered: banding which would be the local authorities' responsibility, and a flat rate adjustment for all, regarded as unjust by the National Union of Students.

Mr Brooke said during a standing committee debate on the 1983 grants regulations: "While we hope to maintain reasonable equity there will inevitably be an element of rough justice to any scheme which achieved a worthwhile degree of simplification."

Mr Brooke went on to reject as "simply unrealistic" the National Union of Students claim for the 1984/85 grant settlement. It asked up to an extra £100m on mandatory awards alone with a further £840m (said to be £400m net) for a guaranteed £20 a week to all further education students.

He said: "If those kinds of additional resources were available for the education service I doubt if many would think that the first priority for using them would be on student support."

The public spending climate was getting harsher rather than easier and he could hold out no prospect of significant improvements in students' living standards.

Claiming that Britain's student support system was still the most generous in Europe, he said the Government had to face the fact that the increase in the main rate of grant for 1984/85 had to be set against the Government's success in controlling



Clement Freud: 'dramatic fall'

inflation. "Because of that success it represents only a marginal decline in the real value of the grant as compared with last year... The real value of the main away-from-home grant for students living outside London has fallen by less than 5 per cent over the past decade while the value of the London rate is nearly 6 per cent higher than it was 10 years ago."

But Alliance and Labour MPs were not convinced. Mr Clement Freud, the Liberal education spokesman who had forced the debate, said the purchasing power of the grant had fallen by a "dramatic" 10 per cent since 1973, something no other section of society had had to endure.

He called for a reduction in the age of financial independence for students from 25 to 21 — a demand costed by Mr Brooke at £50m, and asked for local education authorities to be given the power to pay full grants to students ostracged from their parents as a result of their studies.

And in his first Labour speech on education, Mr Andrew Bennett warned that the cut-back in student support would have an impact on the benefit students received from higher education. More and more students were seeking part-time work, reducing their ability to study effectively and stopping them from joining in university activities, he said.

The Federation of Conservative Students this week urged the Government to limit the increase in grants to 10 per cent but called for a significant increase in the threshold at which parental income was assessed.

Grenada fugitives' new base

from E. Patrick McQuaid
WASHINGTON

Refugees from St George's University School of Medicine on Grenada are continuing their studies at two campuses near New York and at sites elsewhere in the Caribbean. Arrangements for a six-week term at Long Island University's Brooklyn Centre and the St Barnabas Medical Centre in Livingston, New Jersey, were made by Senator Alfonse D'Amato, a New York Republican, and the governor of New Jersey, Mr Thomas Kean.

All but seven of the 631 medical students enrolled at St George's have left Grenada and are accounted for, according to university officials. The off-shore medical school, one of several established during the last decade primarily for American medical college rejects, has its corporate headquarters in Bay Shore, New York.

Chancellor Mr Charles Modica said: "The tremendous enthusiasm and loyalty of students, teaching staff, and parents was combined with an equal amount of support from government and educational institutions to provide St George's with a unique opportunity to continue."

The facilities, provided on a temporary basis from the two institutions, will be used until the end of this year. University officials will then determine if they will return to their two campuses on Grenada or relocate to another Caribbean island, said Mr Modica. The Grenada facilities suffered "some damage" during the conflict but repairs have not yet been estimated.

While first and second-term students will continue their studies in the States, senior members of the class will be transferred to the Kingston Medical College on the island of St Vincent's, where the university has a cooperative arrangement.

As with the programme at St George's itself, none of the studies are accredited by US academic agencies. The university has, in the past, been criticized by the association of American Medical Colleges and the American Medical Association. Graduates must take special examinations for admission into internship and residency programmes at American teaching hospitals. A cheating scandal recently set back that process.

Across the country, dons end students continue to protest the military invasion, signing petitions and holding demonstrations. The rescued students, however, cheered President Reagan and the troops during a White House reception for them recently. Before leaving for an Arian tour, Mr Reagan chastised the media for referring to the action as "an invasion". He prefers to call it "a rescue mission".



Medical students thankful to be back on US soil

Medical students thankful to be back on US soil

Medical students thankful to be back on US soil

Colleges face uncertainty

from A. S. Abraham

Most autonomous colleges in India, operating under a University Grants Commission-sponsored scheme to reform higher education, are uncertain about their future as the initial five-year period of the grant draws to an end. There has been no indication so far whether they will be able to carry on as now or function like any other affiliated colleges.

At Madras University, however, three of the 10 colleges granted autonomy from the 1978/79 academic year have been told that they can continue with it for another year. The decision follows a mid-term review of the experiment by a special committee appointed by the university. The other seven have so far been kept in the dark about what is to happen to them.

The one-year extension is regarded as a postponement of a final decision on autonomous colleges to give the UGC and university administrators more time to weigh the pros and cons of a highly-controversial measure.

There are significant differences between Australian colleges of advanced education and universities in the approach their students adopt to learning.

According to a study by two University of Newcastle academics, Australian university students tend to use a "deep" approach to learning whereas college students apply "surface" methods.

The academics, J. B. Biggs and J. R. Kirby, describe a "deep" approach as one where the student deliberately attempts to make learning as meaningful as possible, where he or she is intrinsically interested in the subject matter, purposeful and organized in studies, prepared to read beyond the set references, and to relate what is being read about or lectured about to previous knowledge, to search for analogies and applications, and so on.

A "surface" approach, in contrast, involves the student learning the minimum necessary, with as little effort as possible, consistent with sufficient marks to achieve his or her purpose. This is accomplished, the researchers say, by restricting learning to what is judged to be essential for exams, and then reproducing that as accurately as possible, or in a way thought to be what is wanted. The "surface" approach also includes a concentration on detail and fact rather than an attempt to see "the big picture."

Reporting on a study of 2,000 students in 14 tertiary institutions in the Australian universities, Kirby and Biggs note that university students, in general, tended to be higher achievers than college students. Kirby and Biggs note that university students tended to be lower achievers than college students in the use of "deep" and "surface" techniques.

According to Biggs and Kirby, to use a "deep" approach, students need to be intelligent, already knowledgeable in the area, be able to concentrate

overseas news

Conference puts quality of teaching to the test

from Sally Reed
RACINE, Wisconsin

Teacher training and the quality of teaching is the most critical issue facing reformers of public education today, according to a group of experts meeting recently. Initiatives to improve the situation are coming from individual state governments rather than national education organizations or federal agencies.

Michael W. Kirst, a policy analyst at Stanford University in California said: "With all this public attention and enormous softening up of public opinion about the need to make improvements in education the initiative is being taken by the state governments."

Mr Kirst, was speaking at a national conference on "teachers and teaching: problems of quality and quantity." The problems discussed included low pay, poor self-esteem, stress, a shortage in some subject areas such as maths and science, and in some cases, questions of competence.

State initiatives include commissions set up to study specific problems, new salary scales, merit pay, new certification requirements to eliminate incompetent teachers and a reorganization of some teacher training institutions.

Chris Phipps, an education commission researcher, recently found 120 new state commissions and task forces that are responding to the flurry of national reports calling for reform in education over the last few months. The Wisconsin Department of Pub-

lic Instruction organized a task force on teaching and teacher education which recommended that the state require new graduate point averages for admissions to teacher education courses, new certification or licensing requirements, early field experiences for prospective teachers, and a strengthening of the liberal arts and sciences component of teacher preparation.

Richard A. Rossmiller, professor and chair of department of educational administration, university of Wisconsin-Madison and chair of the Wisconsin report said: "The single most important resource we have in schools is the teacher. How they use resources — books, materials, time — determines how kids learn. We have to try to improve the quality of teaching."

The Wisconsin report also recommends that starting teacher salaries should be raised from about \$13,000 to \$18,000. Yet this would cost the state \$68m.

The meeting, sponsored by the Johnson Foundation at Windspeid, followed another conference of the deans of education of 17 research-intensive universities who met to find ways to improve the preparation of teachers in their schools.

Dean John Palmer, of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, said that the group developed new benchmarks of excellence and resolved to find new ways to prepare teachers academically so that they had mastered their subject area, the technology of instruction and analytic and reflective thinking.

Hungary introduces new fellowship system

Hungary has introduced a new system of academic fellowships, aimed at allowing young graduates to obtain an advanced degree earlier in their careers. Under the previous system, no graduate could even apply to start working for an advanced degree until he or she had published several articles.

Under the new procedure, promising graduates will be able to proceed directly to postgraduate studies. This is hoped, will allow young scholars to become less dissatisfied minded — a concept which pleases the economic planners, who hope that having once obtained a higher qualification, the young scholars will devote themselves wholeheartedly to the research needs of the national economy.

It is popular, too, with students and young graduates, since, as a recent government report highlighted, young graduates in Hungary earn on an average less than manual workers of the same age.

Hungary's higher education system is complicated, as far as the awarding

of degrees is concerned. Before the second world war, a system based on the German model prevailed. All university graduates obtained what was known as the "little doctorate", while those who wished could proceed to the full or "large" doctorate later.

After the war, this system was adapted to the Soviet model of a two-stage system of higher degrees, the Candidate of Sciences and the Doctor of Sciences. This system arose as a stop-gap measure in the early 1930s, when a shortage of technical expertise throughout the Soviet Union led to large numbers of postgraduate students being provided with a diploma and hustled into essential jobs. Since the new double system means that a doctorate degree is awarded only relatively late in life, there is some pressure within the Soviet Union to have the system changed.

In Hungary, the situation is further complicated by the fact that the first degree is still sometimes termed the "little doctorate". This is the only degree awarded by the universities;

the higher degrees — Candidate of Sciences and Doctor of Sciences — are awarded by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The new system, which was made law on October 28 and becomes fully effective from September 1984, introduces yet another rank, that of "University Doctor" between the first degree and the Candidate of Science.

Under the new system, graduates can apply for a "university fellowship", awarded on the basis of a competitive examination, which includes not only the chosen subject of research, but also foreign languages and the usual philosophical section. The latter is somewhat liberal in scope, including not only Marxist theory and the history of the workers' movement, but also classical philosophy and the history of philosophy. The fellowships, which are administered by the Academy of Sciences, carry a stipend of higher than the starting salary of the majority of young graduates who go into industry or teaching — and run for three years.

Scratching the surface of the deep approach

There were, however, strong faculty differences in the "surface" approach and the faculty mix differed between colleges and universities. Nevertheless, with faculty held constant, universities appear to develop, or attract, students with a "deep" approach to learning, and CAEs students with a "surface" approach. At the same time, Biggs and Kirby point out, some learning environments tend to elicit a "deep" and others a "surface" approach.

"Didactic teaching, emphasis on final examinations in an anxiety-arousing context, and the lack of opportunity to pursue particular subjects in depth, are some characteristics of tertiary teaching associated with the 'surface' approach," they write.

"Such teaching alerts the students to the importance of 'getting by', which then duly becomes the intention." As well, they say, the student may adopt a "deep" approach to major subject, and a "surface" approach to subjects that are unimportant except as fillers for the degree, or a student may adopt a "deep" approach only when "in the mood", which may not be often.

According to Biggs and Kirby, to use a "deep" approach, students need to be intelligent, already knowledgeable in the area, be able to concentrate

for long periods without being easily distracted, and be able to organize themselves and their resources. While some students are not capable of, or interested in, meeting some or most of those requirements, it is possible to help students change from a "surface" to a "deep" approach, given appropriate conditions.

Although they argue that the "deep" approach to learning is more academically desirable (because the outcomes are better) the researchers acknowledge that to the student concerned, the surface approach may be more desirable if it achieves personal goals with "minimal pain", regrettable as that might be to others. A "surface" approach may also be useful where accurate reproduction of facts and details is academically important, as it is in most undergraduate science courses. Indeed, university students were found to utilize both "deep" and "surface" approaches. "Ideally, students should have recourse to both strategies, and [not] to judge which is the more appropriate," Biggs and Kirby write.

Moreover, while a "deep" approach to learning is important in many professions, particularly where the student plans to become involved in research, the "surface" learning in CAEs may be adequate at the pre-service stage.

They say it might also be argued that the "deep" approach is unnecessary in some professional practice. In the case of CAE science

graduates, many would be heading for a "hands on" career in agriculture and industry where the emphasis would be on the application of existing knowledge and techniques in fairly standard settings.

Biggs and Kirby claim that some Australian industrialists have even complained about the "deep" approach displayed by university graduates: they ask too many questions, do not know enough about the details of the immediate context, and want to try out new ways of doing things, rather than sticking with the present system.

Biggs and Kirby argue that academics from both sides should work to promote a "deep" approach to learning, regardless of which staff do the actual teaching. They also point out that if teacher training is to be largely based in colleges of advanced education — as is likely to be the case in New South Wales — this could lead to institutions producing a generation of teachers accustomed to the surface approach to learning. "A likely result of this would appear to be that the bulk of teachers entering high schools by the late 1980s would be likely to be uninterested in their subject matter, prone to use reproductive, short-term learning strategies, and dissatisfied and disillusioned with their own learning experiences as students," the two researchers claim. Fortunately, however, on the evidence Biggs and Kirby have mustered there seems little to justify this conclusion, a conclusion in any case which is likely to be widely disputed in the college community.

Geoff Maslen

ASSOCIATION OF AFRICAN, CARIBBEAN & ASIAN ACADEMICS

Inaugural Conference, 26th November, 1983
10.15 a.m. - 3.45 p.m.

Lecture Theatre, Polytechnic of Central London
35 Marylebone Road

Main Speakers:
Sir Roy Marshall and Ma Usha Prashar

Fee £2, including coffee and tea.

Further details from:
Dr Peter M. E. Figueroa
Department of Education
University of Southampton
(Tel: 0703 558122 Ext. 351 or 0243 553888)

overseas news

Solidarity trial puzzles Poles

Jerzy Andrzejewski, the author of *Ashe and Diamonds*, who died several months ago, is among the witnesses cited to appear against the four Solidarity intellectual advisers, Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Zbigniew Romaszewski and Henryk Wujec.

The four scholars are specifically accused of the long-term aim of trying to implement "parliamentary democracy" in Poland, which the prosecutors consider tantamount to an attempt to overthrow the prevailing system. Their immediate aims are also said to have included "the struggle against reprisals undertaken on political, ideological, denominational and racial grounds" and the fostering of any "social initiative designed to further respect for human and civil rights".

Leading Warsaw lawyers have expressed themselves considerably puzzled by the indictment - one said that he could not make up his mind whether the authorities wanted to punish them or set up a statue to them.

Specific issues on the charge sheet include meetings with various groups

of university students at which "anti-socialist" ideas were propounded, the publication of underground presses and the circulation of unauthorized newspapers and learned texts, the organization of illicit "students' Solidarity committees" (the forerunners of the "Independent Students' Association" of the Solidarity era) and the sponsorship between 1978 and 1980 of the "Flying University" - an unofficial educational body which, in spite of considerable police harassment, managed for three years to keep up a programme of literary, historical, sociological and economic lectures and seminars to supplement the gaps left in the official university syllabus as a result of censorship.

The indictment also maintains that the accused "unsuccessfully" tried to interest the Polish Academy of Sciences in the "Flying University". Although this is true as far as the academy as an institution is concerned, many individual academicians in fact, gave the "Flying University" their unofficial blessing, and a few even

took part in its lecture programme. In his introduction to the indictment, Colonel Włodzimierz Kubała of the chief military prosecutor's office complained that during the pre-trial investigations, the accused "categorically refused to give any explanations regarding the crime of which they are accused", and that it is therefore proving difficult for the prosecution to predict the line the defence will take. The authorities would clearly like to avoid the adverse publicity of the trial - but the solution proposed at the end of October, that the accused should go into "temporary" exile abroad, has been firmly rejected by all four of them.

The amnesty for Solidarity members which continues their activity after the imposition of martial law, and which specifically excluded the four accused "advisers", and also seven Solidarity leaders now awaiting trial, expired on October 31. This amnesty has now been extended to the end of the year, but it seems unlikely that the accused "advisers" will be able to benefit.



Purity reigns Down Under

from Geoff Maslen

MELBOURNE. Australian university students living in residential halls and colleges are models of sexual propriety, at least when compared with their more loose-living counterparts to the general community.

Indeed, far from being dens of iniquity, Australia's residential halls and colleges might almost have about them the air of a monastic retreat. That appears to be the result of a survey conducted by the Reverend C. A. Honey, master of Kingswood College, a co-educational residence at the University of Western Australia.

For Mr Honey has found that just under half of college students younger than 19 claimed they had had no sexual experience. That figure contrasts with a survey of Victorian teenagers which revealed that only about one in five were not sexually active. A similar survey by a women's magazine made the remarkable discovery that nearly two-thirds of Australian adolescents were no longer virgins at the age of 17.

But, it has to be said, Mr Honey's results rely solely on the responses of the students themselves - and there are no surveys to show how honest students are when they are being questioned on delicate matters like sex.

The survey also turned up some surprising evidence of apparent student naivety. For example, about one in eight students said they did not know what they would do if a pregnancy occurred during the course of a casual relationship and did not know whether they or their partner were taking contraceptive precautions. Almost half of the students indicated they would be prepared to marry if pregnancy occurred in a stable relationship.

Barrior this year, a Helsinki student union study found that only 11 per cent of those questioned considered their local-based financial assistance was enough to cover all costs incurred while studying. Disenchantment increased with time, as students started to tussle with escalating interest payments on loans.

The latest biennial elections to representative bodies of Finland's student unions, held on November 8, have illustrated afresh the widespread disenchantment among the younger generation. Out of a total of 453 seats contested nationwide, 233 went to independents.

effect, confronting scholars and journalists who counteracted in the public interest.

Later that year Congress passed legislation, making all White House documentation public property. Mr Nixon's suit to make that law unconstitutional was shot down when the US Supreme Court upheld it in 1971. Archive authorities have removed an estimated 100,000 pages.

Mr Nixon was to have reviewed the remaining papers and filed any claims against release by September. He was granted an extension through November 12 for personal reasons and has until January because of the action by his former aides. Until he indicates his will make any claims himself, the archives will not authorize ground breaking for the library.

view of establishing other facilities. "It is my impression that the first group of teachers should travel to Oman some time during 1984 and the first students should start in 1986. The length of the studies is four years. The education will consist of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and geology," said Mr Hansen. He believes that the intake of students will amount to 80 annually over the four-year period and this required between 30 and 40 teachers.

Work holds back Finns

from Donald Fields

Full-time study at Finnish universities is rapidly becoming a luxury, and may soon become the exclusive preserve of wealthy families. To an increasing degree, impeccable students are being forced to fall back on part-time employment, which delays graduation.

This spectre of regression to an ostensibly egalitarian framework forms the essence of a study commissioned by Helsinki University Students' Union and submitted to the Finnish minister of education, Ms Kaarina Suonio.

The study and accompanying memoranda contend that inadequate financial support, obliging students to do jobs in term time, and a new examination structure, ruling out the simultaneous pursuit of work and scholarship, are retarding academic achievement by poorer students.

They speak of a "social split" within the university that discriminates against these groups. That the government's stated aim of boosting science for students has not been translated into reality is demonstrated by the growing number of students going out to work, even in a period of relatively high unemployment (6 per cent).

According to the study, employees derive short-term benefit from the practice, since full pay scales and hiring-and-firing procedures apply to regular personnel do not extend to students. But the wider community loses in the long run because of the delay in obtaining academic qualifications by gifted young people.

The report argues that if unemployed people were given the 19,000 term time jobs undertaken by Helsinki's 21,000 students, the money released by savings on unemployment benefit payments could be used to ease the strain of less well-to-do students and their hard-pressed parents. This autumn the problem is exacerbated by blockages in the student loan payment pipeline.

As soon as the germ of Ulster's polyversity was planted in people's minds, it seeded the idea that it might become, however unintentionally, a prototype for mergers across the water.

They were right: the current sprinkling of preemptive strikes in Scotland and London is becoming a flood. If current feeling within the University Grants Committee and the Department of Education and Science becomes a reality.

The teacher unions have devoted much of their national as well as local expertise to guiding and smoothing the Ulster path, regarding it as every bit as test-bed as the mandarins in the DES and the UGC. Their interest has been on two levels, illustrating the dual function of the teacher organizations as professional associations with

viewable educational knowledge and also as trade unions seeking to defend and advance the interests of their members during a time of flux.

These central industrial relations difficulties over transitory mergers were identified earlier this year by the Commons Select Committee on Education when it examined the Ulster proposals.

While both pensions and salary differentials are in the process of being solved for the new University of Ulster they represent substantial financial disincentives to further polyversity developments. The cost of transferring Ulster Polytechnic's academics to university pay scales is large enough; repeated on a large scale in the rest of Britain it would be astronomical.

Although the gap is slowly narrowing, university lecturers are paid more than their polytechnic counterparts. The rationale is that the higher university salary represents the greater commitment to research, polytechnic staff being seen as having an almost exclusively teaching function.

Whatever the truth of this, it is apparent that the switch of individuals from polytechnic to university scales will be a delicate operation. Some public sector union officials believe it will actively draw out universities over their insistence that the work of the two groups is different in character - or sufficiently so to warrant a pay differential.

Quelqued in the Commons, Mr Nicholas Scott, the Northern Ireland Office minister responsible for education put a working figure of £270,000 as the cost of transferring all polytechnic staff to university scales. But that was on the prevailing salary scales and the 1983 award. University academic was heavily weighted

Jon Turney reports from Strasbourg on the Council of Europe's conference "Universities 2000"

Adjusting to a common language

The University Grants Committee's list of questions for vice chancellors this month has only been circulated to universities in the United Kingdom. But few of the general questions listed would raise many eyebrows among college and university principals throughout Western Europe.

That, at any rate, was one strong impression left by the Council of Europe's conference "Universities 2000" held last week in Strasbourg. Representatives of higher education institutions and governments from all 21 member countries of the council were speaking a common language - of research priorities, relevance, retrenchments and reappraisals. For all of them the end of an era of easy money and soaring enrolments meant increasing pressures for change and conflicting demands from outside about the direction.

How much else could academics and administrators from countries as diverse as Finland and France, Britain and Turkey tell one another that was both true and useful? During the conference itself not very much, as it turned out. A shame this, as the Council of Europe's two-and-a-half day meeting was the first big event organized by its standing conference on university problems (CCPU), set up five years ago.

Consistently the conference working papers, prepared in advance, gave a weightier overview of the challenges facing European universities between now and the end of the century. While this brief gave the conference a longer period to consider than the seven year horizon of the UGC's exercise, it is still instructive to look at some of the questions thrown up by these papers and during some of the conference discussions which are not on the UGC's list. Some of them imply a very different look to higher education by the year 2000; a look which the UGC barely acknowledges.

In a sentence, these questions forecasted universities and colleges using different methods to teach new kinds of students how to tackle new problems. In each category many of the changes forecast stemmed from the

assumption that industry, science and technology, especially information technology, would continue to develop on lines already visible.

These changes would mean a need for more higher education. Mr Umberto Agnelli of Fiat called for a much greater commitment of resources to teaching, which he judged "an investment that is both essential and in the long term profitable". While few other speakers believed this would happen, they did believe there would be greater demand from mature students, both for a second chance and for continuing education, from women and from ethnic minorities and migrants.

Such customers would present new demands, both by seeking courses which met their needs and by being more exacting of their teachers. They would want, for instance, more emphasis on women's studies and multicultural studies. Here, a representative of the Dutch directorate-general of higher education and research pointed out that the Netherlands already had coordinators of women's studies in most universities, as well as three chairs in the subject.

Other institutional innovations would be needed for new groups of students, according to Professor John Eggleston of Keele University. He pointed in particular to the need for evaluation of teaching methods.

"Many believe the real test of student achievement is surviving indifferently teaching. If we're serious about introducing new categories of students, we must get more serious about teaching standards," he said.

Technology and new working practices would also have a great impact on teaching methods, many speakers felt. Mr Agnelli pointed out that universities had long lost their monopoly on the transmission of culture to the mass media. But other contributors felt that colleges would increasingly make use of such media to peddle their wares.

Mr David Bethel, director of Leicester Polytechnic, argued that new consumers of higher education would want to shop around to see who could meet their needs. Information technology meant that all higher education

institutions would become more publicly accountable, especially as publication of courses became commonplace. "In 10 years' time the amount of publication necessary to stay in business will increase dramatically," he suggested.

On the same theme, Mr Noel Thompson, under-secretary in Britain's Department of Education and Science, suggested that the most important innovation of the institution best known for publishing courses, the Open University, was not its use of distance learning techniques, but the way course materials were produced. He was pleased that the OU's use of course teams had broken the tradition that every lecturer was responsible for his or her individual course even if there were 100 chemistry lecturers in one country teaching similar material.

"Of course, no one wants to see a centralized curriculum, but course teams have shown they can produce high-quality material for a large number of students and this is not only applicable to distance learning," he said.

This pointer to the industrialization of course production clearly indicated a different pattern of activity for the average academic of the year 2000, especially when taken alongside a new division of labour in research foreseen by many contributors. There was general agreement that universities without research were unthinkable.

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But this rhetoric didn't mean that teachers had to be creative investigators throughout a university career. Several speakers argued for a more stratified system, beginning with shorter, mass entry higher education courses run by teachers who worked to keep up with the literature but were not active researchers.

The elite (though the word was later amended to "experts") would then go on to further study in centres of professional training or possibly in real research. The latter would most likely be national centres, competing for resources with a relatively small number of similar centres in any one country.

What problems would these research institutes address? On this question, some of the tensions between different views of the future became evident.

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As a counter to this, there were calls for new initiatives to tackle new often multidisciplinary problems; problems of the environment, population, and north-south relations - problems often stemming from the advances in technology universities were being exhorted to promote. There were repeated calls for the social sciences and humanities to be protected in the entrepreneurial university of the fu-

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However, when these suggestions appeared in the final conference document as "findings", a member of the British delegation, Mr Thompson, disputed the implication that they had been debated and approved by the conference. The chairman then agreed to a last minute revision of the conference communiqué emphasizing that all the proposals must be discussed further by the CCPU.

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The APT earlier this year changed its rules to permit full membership for staff from any institution where advanced (degree-level) work reached a level of 50 per cent.

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But that this also opens up the prospect of university membership was not lost on at least some of the APT's own membership.

In England and Wales, the APT's strongholds are in the science and technology departments of polytechnics in towns and cities often with a well-established civic university. Itself well regarded in these disciplines.

In future merger proposals the APT could seem many of its members either snapped up by the local university or rationalized out of the system.

The prospect is of further pressure for union merger to match the institutional mergers. The idea of a single post-teacher teachers' union has attracted far-seeing union officials and lay members for some time.

But will the polyversity concept advance that process or put further barriers in its way? Only time will tell.



Sharing problems: Umberto Agnelli of Fiat (left), Heinz Fischer of Austria, David Bethel of Leicester Poly.

institutions would become more publicly accountable, especially as publication of courses became commonplace. "In 10 years' time the amount of publication necessary to stay in business will increase dramatically," he suggested.

On the same theme, Mr Noel Thompson, under-secretary in Britain's Department of Education and Science, suggested that the most important innovation of the institution best known for publishing courses, the Open University, was not its use of distance learning techniques, but the way course materials were produced. He was pleased that the OU's use of course teams had broken the tradition that every lecturer was responsible for his or her individual course even if there were 100 chemistry lecturers in one country teaching similar material.

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Trading rights across the line

In our continuing series on mergers David Jobbins discusses how the unions are defending members' interests

toward the bottom points on the scale, which is where many polytechnic staff could expect to end up. Some rises were in the order of 10 per cent and more, indicating a figure of £300,000 as more realistic.

The extra cost of transferring staff from the Teachers' Superannuation Scheme, to which most polytechnic staff belong, to the University Superannuation Scheme, to which almost all NUT's staff belong, is even more difficult to calculate. Mr Derek Birley, the new institution's vice chancellor designate, has identified it as a greater obstacle than the salary differentials.

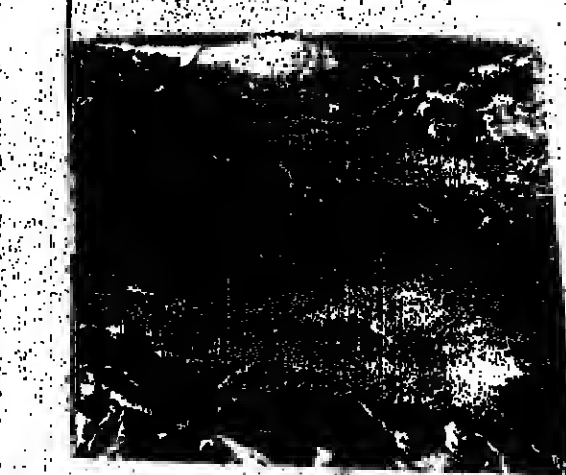
The fundamental problem is that the APT is about 10 per cent more expensive to the employers than the TES, although in broad terms the schemes are quite similar. The Select Committee reported that the cost of topping up the pensions of polytechnic staff transferring to the UGC could be up to £15m and called on the Government to produce a clearer statement of the extra costs.

In the event the Government found the necessary cash for the superannuation problem, this heading off what many feared would be the first test of the "no redundancy" pledge secured by the trade unions.

No redundancy is the bottom line for the teacher unions. Beyond the fundamental protection of their members' interests in the salaries and conditions areas they are principally involved in setting the ground rules for the academic carve-up which is the driving force behind the polyversity phenomenon.

At national level the two unions principally involved have agreed on a policy line towards

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Games plot alleged

South Korea's security authorities recently claimed to have uncovered a plot to sabotage the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympics, by means of a special technical college to be established in Seoul.

The siting of these events in the South Korean capital has evoked strong criticism and boycott threats from several left-wing countries in Asia and in particular from North Korea.

During the last few years, there have been repeated allegations that South Korean students in Japan have been recruited by Communist agents to the northern cause. One of these alleged recruiters, a certain Mr Pak Pak, resident in Japan, is said to have been under orders to take the process a stage further.

He was to establish a technical college in Seoul - the South Korean security allege, which would specialize in the training for the various technicians' jobs associated with the games. Selected students from the school, the security service claim, would then have been "brainwashed" and at a crucial moment mobilized.

Ontario appeal

The Ontario government will appeal against a provincial court's decision that part of its controversial restraint programme is unconstitutional. While upholding the programme's 5 per cent ceiling on wages, the court ruled that the government's extension of existing union contracts by 12 months limited public employees' rights.

The Arabiat oil state Oman is looking for about 40 Danish university teachers to help set up a faculty of natural sciences. The faculty should be incorporated in a university which is under construction.

A representative from the unfortunate faculty of natural sciences at the University of Copenhagen, Mr. Jens Joergensen Hansen, said that the two

faculties at the University of Copenhagen and the University of Aarhus are interested in participating in the project on a joint basis.

Mr Hansen stressed that no agreements have been made and that he does not know when there might be a settlement. However, it is his impression that there is great interest in obtaining teachers from the Scandinavian countries. The representative from Oman has also visited a couple of universities in Norway and Sweden in

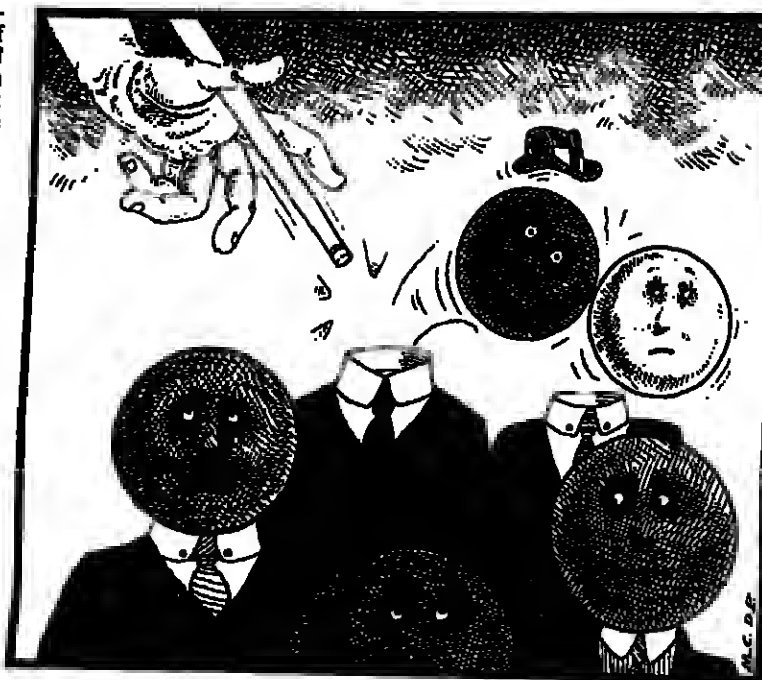
A few years ago, a first year undergraduate provided a crucial piece of help for me in a tutorial. He had discovered an article while browsing in the stock of the university library that led him to say - in a discussion on the geography of cities - that a city was rather like a large number of billiard balls. The remark, and the article, provided the spark to allow me to see a substantial part of my own research in a much broader context and it led me to begin to shift the focus of my future research. It was also one of those relatively rare experiences which illustrated quite dramatically why the values of university life: mutual learning between teacher and student, the value of browsing, the utility of a good university library.

The article was in a volume which was breathtakingly obscure: the 1958 Annual Report of the Rockefeller Foundation. But it contained the valuable address - of over 100 pages - of Warren Weaver, the outgoing science vice president of the foundation. He argued that there are three types of problem in science - and I believe the argument is also applicable more widely - which he labelled "simple", "of disorganized complexity" and "of organized complexity". And he illustrated his argument by writing about billiard balls.

Simple problems could be described in terms of a relatively small number of characteristics. In mathematical terms, number of variables - say two, three or four. Complex problems involved large numbers of characteristics, hundreds, thousands, many millions, even astronomical numbers. Disorganized complexity involves many entities which are not strongly connected to each other; organized complexity, substantial degrees of interdependence. To illustrate, consider a large billiard table.

An example of a simple system is provided by a single ball. Its "state" can be described by four variables: two position coordinates and two components of velocity. If it receives an impulse from a cue, its whole trajectory could be charted by solving Newton's laws of motion with appropriate initial and boundary conditions. Science, it is argued, took essentially this form until the late nineteenth century. It was very successful, and still is. Many current problems can be reduced to this "simple" form.

Now suppose there are many billiard balls on the table and one given an impulse. Many variables are now needed to describe the state of the system and there are too many collisions - too great a degree of complexity - for the equations of motion to be solved by Newtonian means. But the system is disorganized in the sense that the degrees of dependence between its elements, except for the collisions, is relatively small. When Boltzmann discovered, when faced with the real problem of studying the behaviour of particles of a gas, was not a new way of solving the equations of motion, but interesting answers to some different questions. In the billiard ball analogy, rather than pursuing the question of what happens to each ball, consider alternatives like: how often, on average, does a ball strike a cushion? The



Billiard cue

Alan Wilson takes another idiosyncratic look at life

answers to such questions turn out to be worth knowing.

Suppose now that we still have a lot of billiard balls, but large numbers are connected to each other with rubber bands. The effects of an impulse are now obviously much more complex: the effects of one collision are communicated round the table through the "organization" provided by the elastic; and hence "organized complexity". The methods which could be used to answer Boltzmann-like averaging questions now break down. Weaver argued, in 1958, that there were no general methods for solving this type of problem; and further that these were the most important problems of modern science. He was using his general argument to justify spending more of his foundation's money on biology rather than physics or chemistry. It will help to illustrate the argument if I first complete my personal anecdote.

What the student meant when he said that cities were like billiard balls didn't know, but what excited me, was that much of my own research used Boltzmann methods to model movement and location of people in cities. The only originality in his physics was in spotting that a method which was then virtually only used in physics was usable in geography. I had been criticized for this. A planning journal at the time had contained a leading article titled "People are not particles". I was aware, in responding to this, that the method I was using transcended both disciplines and was applicable in each, but Weaver's argument clarified and extended this and also taught me more clearly why some of my problems were not amenable to

these methods - because I was dealing with organized complexity. It helped, therefore, to shift my attention, and in particular to look at other disciplines with potentially similar problems to see if I could again steal their methods. One more preliminary comment is useful here: Weaver's ideas to look ahead in a more general way, to look at the evolution of science, and perhaps predominantly in physics, there is a virtue in this - when in physics, for example, there is a concern with finer and finer levels of resolution in the search for deeper levels of explanation. There is a similar argument in economics: say how can one understand industries without understanding the behaviour of individuals who run and work in them? But all too often, an excuse for restricting the definition of a problem until it becomes "simple". The real, interesting, complexity is assumed away, or defined away, in order to create a problem which is manageable. Again this can sometimes be healthy but all too often it leads to the neglect of the most important problems. In neural physiology, for example, there is much research on the biochemistry and "behaviour" of individual neurons. There is relatively little work on the whole system, the biochemistry of memory in the human brain, for example. The produce important building blocks. But it is difficult for people geared to this scale of work to recognize that the holistic phenomena are quite different and need different modes of attack. There is an argument, therefore, for being more self-conscious about "types" of scientific problem and for encouraging individuals, institutions

and funding agencies to tackle more complex problems, especially "organized" ones, rather than to settle for the relative safety of the simple. There is the beginnings of an explanation of why there is too much "trivial" research in academic life here.

We can conclude by asking whether the results of Weaver's analysis in the 1950s still apply. Should research funding be shifted from physics and chemistry to biology? The intuitive answer seems to be "yes", but the analysis needs to be expanded to cover more disciplines.

The problems of physics perhaps remain mostly "simple" or "disorganized" - though this is not to say that they are not immensely complicated and the results interesting. And the physics of solids certainly contains some problems of organized complexity. The same can be said of chemistry and perhaps biochemistry. Weaver's analysis does seem to be confirmed by problems in biology. The task of modeling the development of an organism or the evolution of species, or the complex controls involved in human nervous systems, are now more recognized as the major research tasks of the future. The argument can now be extended to the engineering sciences and the current concern with information technology. The most difficult and interesting problems in this field are in areas like artificial intelligence, pattern recognition and the design of control systems, all of which have some of the characteristics of organized complexity. The argument can also be extended to the social sciences and the humanities. The spatial structure of a city (with its apparently intractable problems of the "inner" city) can now be seen as problems of organized complexity needing more than traditional methods of analysis. The debates about structuralism in both the social sciences and the humanities also demonstrate a concern with, in another language, the holistic problems of organized complexity.

The major substantial change in the position since Weaver's day may turn out to be in the form help from mathematicians. But David McLeish, professor of political theory at Kent University, insists this is nonsense: "Marx is absolutely essential to social science. You could say the course I teach has a Marxist bias. Most courses have a capitalist bias." As a non-Marxist and a university professor, McLeish has no worries about political attacks. But other Marxists at polytechnics did not want to talk openly unless it was absolutely necessary.

Nevertheless, they admit that there are real difficulties around teaching, although they would claim that this is because of the success of Marxism and the absence of a credible alternative theory - particularly in courses like development studies.

Yet still the major issue is quite a higher education. This is more of an issue for Marxists than other academics not simply because of political view they might feel, but because there are disproportionately more Marxist lecturers in liberal and social studies in polytechnics and further education - thanks to the lack of available posts in universities in the last decade. Some are now worried that a political decision to get rid of Marxism which can be fought against politically (many liberal academics were appalled by Gold's recommendations) will be disguised as economic necessity which is much more difficult to resist.

And finally there is a curious concern expressed by looking at the position of Marxism in higher education in the USA and especially in Japan. Marxism is accepted as an orthodoxy in these country's social science departments partly because it has no immediate political relevance. In the Socialist Society seminar last winter, while the ostensible talk about the state, philosophy, history, literature etc will be "unashamedly academic", much of the bar conversation will be very political. As Stuart Hall, professor of sociology at the Open University remarked: "There is not a which-hunt at the moment but there is a sense of closure: people are much more nervous and sensitive in engaging with controversial issues because the climate is watchful and wary".

Brian Morton

On your Marx

Next week, the Socialist Society, a relatively new grouping of radical intellectuals, launches a series of seminars about Marxist thought in celebration of Marx's centenary year. It is, perhaps, fitting that the first seminar, with Ralph Miliband and Bernard Crick, will be on politics and the role of the state. For many Marxist academics are becoming increasingly concerned about a possible fresh offensive against Marxist scholarship.

The allegations of Marxist bias in courses at North London Polytechnic and the Open University are well-documented. Both courses seem quite safe but what disturbed lecturers involved most was that the issue was raised in an inaccurate way by the popular press and then treated very seriously by governing bodies. These two incidents are being connected with several other examples of attacks on polytechnic courses in the last few years, and recent decisions by the Social Science Research Council to stop funding established radical research groups like the Cambridge Economic Policy group.

These incidents are small in themselves - but they raise important issues which are being talked about openly for the first time since the Gould report in 1979. The difficulty for Marxist and liberal academics is that while Marxism is more established academically than five years ago, the political and economic atmosphere surrounding higher education is much more hostile.

A key argument that is emerging for Marxists is around pedagogy: too much Marx is being taught and often this Marxist input is dishonestly disguised. But David McLeish, professor of political theory at Kent University, insists this is nonsense: "Marx is absolutely essential to social science. You could say the course I teach has a Marxist bias. Most courses have a capitalist bias."

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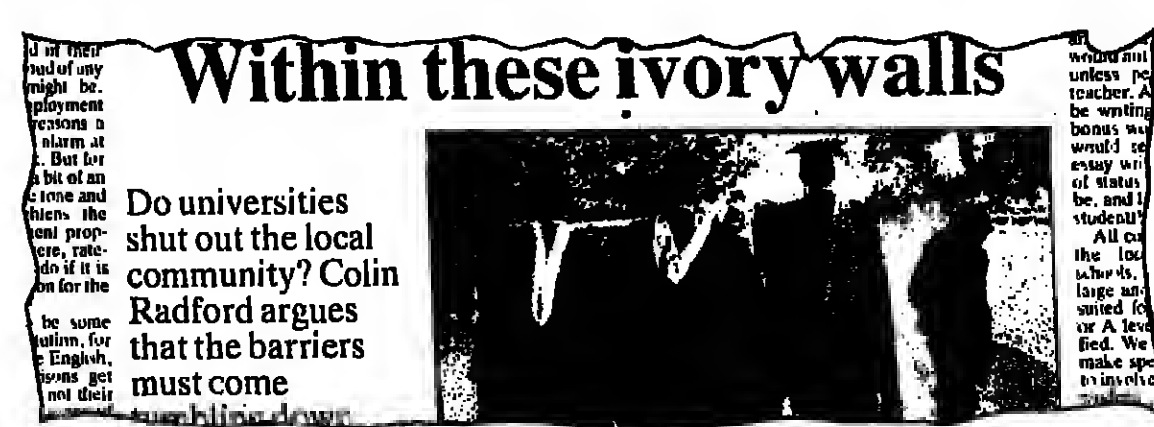
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David Berry

From the outside looking in...

Following our town and gown article, Peter Collison presents some findings from a study of local attitudes to universities



Do universities shut out the local community? Colin Radford argues that the barriers must come tumbling down

To determine if our informants had ever visited the main university sites and if they had ever seen any of the new buildings, thinking that the buildings may have been seen by respondents who passed the sites without actually penetrating them. We also asked if our informants had been in any of the new buildings and if any visits had ever been paid to premises other than those on the main site. The results appear in table two. Some of the figures in this table appear anomalous. For Reading more people (77 per cent) had seen the new buildings (57 per cent) than for York more people (74 per cent) had seen the buildings that had been on the site (51 per cent). There are explanations for both these apparent inconsistencies. In York, for example, the buildings had been featured on television and the disparity of people who had seen the television programme but had not themselves been on the site.

Looking at these figures as a whole the size of the local population flow into university premises must be a matter of surprise. Universities may have the appearance of forbidding "total" institutions but they do not seem to function as such. Of course it may equally be a matter of surprise and, for some, regret, that 51 per cent of the population in Oxford, for example, has never penetrated St John's College and seen its delectable gardens. But the comparison of universities with prisons which Radford suggests seems wide of the mark. Architects and town planners have occasionally fallen into the trap of assuming that people behave in ways that the design and layout of buildings suggest they will or should. It looks as though Radford and those of us who share, or have shared, his assumptions fall into the same trap.

Informants in Reading and York who claimed to have seen the new university buildings were also asked if they found them attractive to look at. About three quarters in each place pronounced the buildings to be attractive. There were significant minorities (14 per cent Reading; 16 per cent York) who were of the opposite opinion and others who were indifferent. But it can hardly be argued that the local population in these two places regard the university buildings as a "desecration". And it is worth mentioning that a small number of respondents who expressed negative opinions went further and volunteered that they considered modern architecture as a whole to be brutal or offensive. In these cases the local university buildings: said under the weight of this general condemnation rather than for any particular derisions.

Radford says that local populations did not want universities located among them. The evidence, I think, is against him. In York a few voices were raised in opposition to the university but they were overwhelmed in a general chorus of welcome. Of course

TABLE TWO

VISITS TO THE UNIVERSITY ETC.		
	Reading %	York %
Have visited main site (Whiteknights Park)	77	61
Have visited other	36	7
Have seen new buildings	57	74
Have been inside new buildings	17	16

TABLE FIVE

PARENTAL ASPIRATION FOR UNIVERSITY EDUCATION		
Would you like him (her, some of them...) to go to university?		
	Oxford %	Reading %
Yes, (Oxford)	84	72
Yes, (Reading)	6	15
No	10	13
Don't know	2	4

many small. Radford draws attention to the general fall in the proportion of students attending their local university and suggests that this is to be accounted for by a contempt which local youth has come to have for the home institution. We do not have evidence which bears directly on this assertion since we were unable to interview the local cohorts of undergraduates. But we put two questions to informants who had children under 11. The questions were confined in this way as we judged that the 11-plus examination which was then in operation would have effectively excluded the possibility of a university place for the majority of children above 11. We asked first if the informant would like his child (or children) to go to university. About 90 per cent in each place (table five) replied yes.

Those who aspired in this way for their children were then asked if they would like them to go to the local university. The proportions not favouring the local institute are shown in table six, line two. It is evident that Reading with 18 per cent has the highest negative response. But put in another way this figure indicates that even in Reading 82 per cent of these parents who have in some degree ambitious for university education would like to see their offspring attend Reading University. Parents at any rate can hardly be said to hold the home institution in disregard.

From replies to other questions we found that in Oxford more than a third of our informants claimed some degree

of acquaintance with one or more of the university dons and more than half of these claimed in addition to have paid or received a home visit with at least one don. We also asked about university teachers' pay. In Oxford 6 per cent declared the dons to be overpaid, although this was more than balanced by another 26 per cent who thought them underpaid. But it is to be admitted that our respondents were not well informed on the facts for when we asked for estimates of actual salaries most of the replies we received were considerable underestimates. The results from Reading and York were somewhat different but by and large they pointed in the same direction.

So far as the local community is concerned our survey results suggest that relations with the home university in these three places are closer and more numerous and that attitudes are more favourable than many people suppose. Of course it may be different elsewhere. But I know of no systematic evidence to indicate this. Those of us who share Colin Radford's enthusiasm for closer relations with the local community can be confident that we do not have to make headway against either contempt or sullen resentment. On the contrary relations of many kinds are already well established, attitudes are positive and generally there is a firm and extensive basis for further development.

The author is professor of social studies at Newcastle University.

TABLE ONE

INSTITUTIONS VISITED				
Institution	Ever visited	Visited in year prior to interview	Visited in year prior to interview	Column 2 Column 3
Christ Church	88	42	31,200	48
Magdalen	77	32	23,600	48
Ashmolean	67	19	14,100	26
Worcester	69	17	12,600	29
University Museum	54	11	6,200	2
Sheldonian	50	8	4,500	12
St John's	49	8	10,400	28
Bodleian	34	14	4,500	18
Museum of the History of Science	22	2	1,500	08

TABLE THREE

EFFECT OF UNIVERSITY: PERSONAL			
Would you say that for you personally the fact that the university and the colleges are here makes (Oxford):			
	Oxford %	Reading %	York %
a better place to live in?	59	41	38
a worse place to live in?	4	1	3
neither a better nor a worse place to live in?	36	58	57
don't know	1	2	4

TABLE FOUR

EFFECT OF UNIVERSITY: CIVIC			
Would you say that for the city as a whole, the presence of the university and the colleges is:			
	Oxford %	Reading %	York %
an advantage?	77	88	81
a disadvantage?	8	0	2
neither an advantage nor a disadvantage?	15	11	14
don't know	2	1	3

Fostering the mother-tongue

Nationalism has become unfashionable. Twentieth century history can be seen as a sustained rejection of the populist vision, which assumed a determined identity between place, race, language, culture, and (usually) religion, and as the political triumph of liberal internationalism. Nationalism became totalitarian in Germany, Italy, Japan and the USSR; grotesque hangovers from the imperial states of nineteenth-century Britain.

With the Second World War, though, nationalism was reconstituted as the positive pole of anti-imperialism. Fusion and Cueva and others developed a structuralist nationalism which emerged, watered down, as non-alignment (the Third World), response to "Vodka-Coke politics" and the cultural imperialism of the super-powers.

Recent changes in European society, not least the revival of a strong populist right, have called into question many of the old assumptions about national cohesion, restoring the tension between unity and pluralism. Against all the discussions of mass media society, there has developed a powerful centrifugal pull towards national and linguistic self-determination.

On the part of immigrant groups. The Linguistic Minorities Project was established at the University of London Institute of Education in 1979. Its remit, funded by the Department of Education and Science was a study of bilingualism in England, its geographical spread and educational implications.

The LMP's most striking preliminary was that languages now actively used in Britain include in addition to variants of English not just the Celtic, Greek, Hindi, Italian, Punjabi, Polish, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish, Ukrainian and Urdu. The crucial recognition of the survey, however, has been that minority language use operates on both horizontal and vertical axes. It is no longer sufficient to oppose a "minority tongue" to the received pronunciation of south-east English. Just as school pupils of direct British descent are now encouraged to explore their local dialect and accent as an immediately given speech-act, so it is necessary to understand that a Punjabi speaker in an English-speaking context faces the additional dilemma of using a local dialectal variant of a second national standard or religious language, the usual written medium. Modern linguistic distinctions between "performance" and "competence" are germane here at a social level: English, required separate instruction in the roots and literature of language, or the knowledge as well as in English. Mother-tongue teaching has become a crucial issue.

Under its director, Yvonne Kwan, LMP set

out to gather raw data about language use and its patterning in different social contexts. Just as standard and non-standard registers of English are socially marked, so variants of the minority language exist in the oral or the written form soon dies. The Mother Tongue Teaching Directory and the Language Information Network Coordination have considerable work still to do - the LINC project not due to report until December 1984 - but LMP have already revealed four crucial socio-linguistic patterns which have been obscured in the past by two language usages. (Even the terminology begs the question: "first" as in priority or as in importance?)

1. The incidence of multi-lingualism is a great deal higher than was previously thought.

2. A large proportion, allowed the choice, and despite the social pressures against them, continue to opt for the minority language in domestic situations.

3. There is a clear wish and demand for mother-tongue provision in all areas and among almost all the local linguistic minorities.

4. Important differences between speakers of the same minority language in different areas suggests that it will be vital to take account of local historical, demographic, social and economic factors.

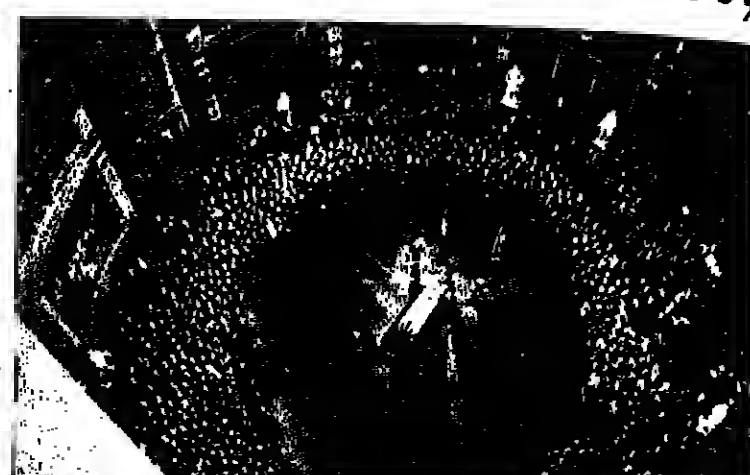
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Nerves on the New Frontier: twenty years after Dallas, Morris Dickstein

A triumph of style over substance,



A Secret Service man jumps on the back of the car bearing the assassinated president. Right, the lying-in-state in the Capitol, Washington DC.



John F. Kennedy's assassination stands as the most traumatic event in American history since Pearl Harbor, and the aftermath has coloured all subsequent views of his career and his interrupted presidency. For the public at large he remains a fallen hero cut off in his prime, whose untimely death enables us to inscribe our own wishes onto his rough beginnings.

For some years, during the troubled administrations of Johnson and Nixon, this was the tendency of historians as well. Those close to Kennedy were the first to speak; they saw his administration as he would have seen it, wrote the memoirs he didn't live to publish. Even an old salt like Samuel Eliot Morison could concede his *Oxford History of the American People* in 1965 with some wistful bars of music from *Camelot*. But as the Vietnam quagmire deepened, Kennedy's role in inflaming America's involvement came under increasing scrutiny. During the same period, Lyndon Johnson's legislative wizardry on domestic issues reflected indignantly on Kennedy's numerous setbacks in Congress.

According to the new revisionist consensus among journalists and historians, Kennedy's leadership was both too timid and too bold. The continuing popular adulation of Kennedy, especially among blacks, had to be attributed to the family's genius at public relations. John Kennedy's success seemed a triumph of style over substance, rhetoric over reality.

But this explanation does little to account for the shattered hopes and sense of loss that followed Kennedy's murder. As a research student in Cambridge at the time, I could not witness the days of national mourning at home, where continuous television coverage eased the numbing horror and fear of the future. In Cambridge, small groups of Americans, cut off emotionally from their English friends, huddled together like orphans of history, as if their country had just gone down in a plane. It was an age of innocence, a time when political assassination still seemed unimaginable. A decade of turbulence was yet to come.

Though Kennedy was adept at attracting publicity as a member of Congress, there was little in his early record to foreshadow his rise to national stature. At the time of his death, Kennedy's liberalism was still of recent vintage. As a Congressman and Senator after 1946 he was never a legislative insider, and his brand of *Realpolitik* and hard anti-communism did little to ingratiate him with the progressive

wing of his own party. He spent several years before his 1960 nomination courting liberals and intellectuals—the people who distrusted his manipulative, reactionary father and were loath to forgive the son for not speaking out against one of his father's friends, Joe McCarthy. The New Deal liberals owed their first allegiance to men like Adlai Stevenson and Hubert Humphrey; they considered Kennedy an ambitious, inexperienced upstart who was trying to capture the presidency on his Hollywood good looks and his father's wealth and connections. The ruthless energy of the Kennedy clan was already a legend. As far as blacks were concerned, Kennedy entered the 1960 race as the least favourite among all the Democratic candidates, a man whose record showed little deep affinity for civil rights.

Despite his Irish ancestry, Kennedy was also an Anglophile, whose favourite reading was David Cecil's biography of Melbourne. A Whiggish elitism sustained his belief in strong, urban leadership and his suspicion of popular movements fuelled by moral or ideological fervour. His presidency was a period of popular awakening and mess protest, especially on civil rights and the dangers of nuclear war. These radical, yet Kennedy always sought to undercut them or harness them for his

own political cause. Kennedy was attractive precisely as part of the same awakening, which his hopeful rhetoric helped encourage.

Kennedy's show of vigour and activism contrasted forcefully with the phlegmatic mood of the Eisenhower years, when businessmen were in the saddle and America's social problems were swept aside. In the aftermath of war, a wave of suburbanization and an improved standard of living brought contentment to the middle class, and left the underclass quiescent and largely invisible. Belonging to a new breed of New Dealers became scapegoats for the frustrations of a new bipolar world—the cold war. A series of recessions in the 1950s left the economy sluggish, and Kennedy promised "to get the country moving again".

While Nixon scoured him of "downgrading America", Kennedy promised dynamic leadership. But like other cold war liberals, Kennedy yoked domestic renewal with international activism, promising a strong military, vigorous anti-communism, and aggressive competition with the Russians. A non-existent "missile gap" became one of Kennedy's most effective campaign themes, like Reagan's later "window of vulnerability".

Kennedy's cold war attitudes in the 1960 campaign were hardly distinguishable from Nixon's. Like Nixon he

had entered Congress in 1946 as a zealous anti-communist, eager to root out left-wing influences in labour and government. Echoing his father's animosity towards Roosevelt, he accused the late president of having sold out Poland at Yalta, and he repeatedly attacked Truman for stalling on military preparedness.

Kennedy's defenders have always argued that he outgrew this crude jingoism long before he became president, but Kennedy's first two years in office witnessed a sharp intensification of the cold war: the disastrous Bay of Pigs landing in Cuba, an abortive summit meeting with Khrushchev in Vienna, a festering crisis in Laos, the addition of billions of dollars to Eisenhower's defence budget, a virtual obsession with counter-insurgency in near-mobilization for nuclear war over Berlin in 1961 and the Cuban missiles in 1962, and a gradual escalation of America's commitment in Vietnam. At the same time Kennedy pursued many liberal initiatives vigorously fore-shadowed in his electoral campaign and his astonishingly eloquent inaugural address. Programmes like the Peace Corps, which became a rallying point for young Americans all through the 1960s, and the Alliance for Progress in Latin America, which unfortunately did little to prevent the spread

of military dictatorships, were the products of Kennedy's "rhetoric of crisis idealism", as one historian has called it—his appeal to his fellow citizens to "ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country".

The young people influenced by Kennedy may have taken him more seriously than he intended. The freedom riders, sit-in-organizers, and civil rights radicals who put together the radical Port Huron Statement in 1962—kicked off a decade of social protest from which he himself recoiled. Yet it belongs in part to his own legacy. Nothing was more crucial to Kennedy's administration than the tone he set: a mixture of witty sophistication, pragmatism, and high moral purpose. As he stood haughty and cool in the winter cold during his inauguration, announcing that "the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century", Kennedy was flaunting his youthful energy, his sense of being put to the test, his sombre readiness to face the future. Surrounded by old men who were passing from the scene, he sounded the clarion of generational politics that would be heard from other lips throughout the 1960s.

Critics have shown where Kennedy's deeds defaulted on this noble vision of

and Alan Wolfe (below) offer contrasting views of the 'Kennedy years' rhetoric over reality

It is an imperial colouring, but they have not weighed the effect of Kennedy's style on a nation eager for a new sense of purpose. Without decent institutions to provide the focus of continuity, America has always been remarkably sensitive to the rise of its leadership, especially with the growth of mass communications. Much of what Kennedy did was based on cold calculation. He cultivated artists and intellectuals as pendants to his royal court, and in an open appeal to the virtues of history. He longed for the kind of class even money couldn't buy, for he himself, as his strong supporter Norman Mailer complained, had "no imagination", nothing of "the kind of mind which can see a new solution to an old problem". The effect of this unprecedented patronage was exhilarating and—as time would show—irreversible. It attracted the elite of "the best and the brightest" who would intervene arrogantly in the war in Vietnam. Yet it also enhanced the importance of those who, no less viciously, would oppose that war.

Detectors who rightly accuse the Kennedy image-makers should pay more attention to the content and impact of such images. With his stacks of welfare checks and social programmes, Ronald Reagan fostered a spirit of self-satisfied meanness and complacency—and a search for scapegoats for economic failures. Kennedy's activist image appealed to a mood of self-dedication rooted in American ideals of social justice and equality of opportunity. Yet many felt cheated by the disparity between Kennedy's promise and performance. In Kennedy's first two years in office, nowhere was this gap more blatant than in civil rights. As a candidate he had won black support by intervening to free Martin Luther King from jail, but in office at first he did little to advance black rights, though his Justice Department moved aggressively to enforce existing laws, inadequate as they were.

Kennedy was elected by so narrow a margin and faced such rigid conservatism and Southern opposition in Congress that he was determined to postpone all controversial initiatives until his second term. His early appoint-

ments virtually gave away the store, while liberals were shut out of the White House. One of them, John Kenneth Galbraith, a personal friend, protested almost immediately at the spirit of timidity and caution that surrounded him. He wrote to Kennedy that "the problem of the new administration is going to be neither liberalism nor conservatism but caution. I am a little appalled at the eloquence of the explanations as to why things, neither radical nor reactionary but only wise, cannot be done." To Kennedy such misgivings lacked political realism. For a long time it seemed that all the president's boldness would be channelled into adventures abroad, where public opinion was sure to follow—Kennedy's popularity rose sharply even after the Bay of Pigs debacle—and all his reticence and inexperience would elude domestic legislation, especially in the area of civil rights, where the resistance was most fierce.

But the demons Kennedy helped unleash were not easily to be recalled. While Kennedy and his brother Robert counselled restraint—and King tried to explain "why we can't wait" the movement for integration, jobs, and voting rights, stalled since the landmark Supreme Court decisions, had taken to the streets. The beatings and confrontations at lunch-counters, bus stations, schools and college campuses were flashed around the world. Kennedy's dream of national grandeur was foundering in shame and blood. Blacks and whites marching non-violently in Southern towns and cities were assaulted, set upon by dogs thrown to jail. Black homes were fired upon, their churches bombed.

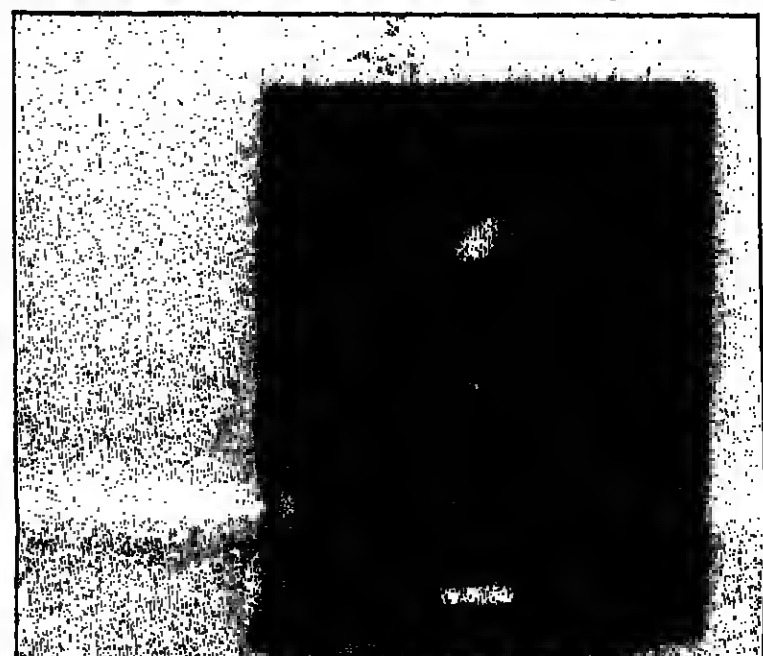
What followed was Kennedy's finest hour. He had already proposed sweeping civil rights legislation in February 1963. But as the world watched Bull Connor's police dogs attack black children in Birmingham, Kennedy was forced to act in a more decisive way—to exert the moral authority of his office instead of compromising with the power brokers in Congress. On June 11, a hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, Kennedy addressed the nation on the denial of elementary justice to its black citizens.

Like other cautious leaders driven to a bold course of action, Kennedy evoked the ferment of popular unrest to frighten his audience, to appeal to their prudience as well as their conscience. "The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, north and south, where legal remedies are not at hand. Redress is sought in the streets, in demonstrations, parades, and protests which create tensions and threaten violence and threaten lives."

In the next few days he brought far-reaching new civil rights proposals before Congress. But Kennedy genuinely distrusted popular pressures which originated outside what he defined as the political system. That summer he tried to head off the great March on Washington and, failing that, sought to seize its leadership and deflect its direction. But a significant divide had been crossed. The day before his civil rights address, Kennedy had delivered a daring speech at American University calling for arms control and an end to the cold war. The next month his negotiators signed an agreement in Moscow with the Russians and the British halting atomic testing in the atmosphere. In September the treaty was ratified in the Senate by an overwhelming margin. Ever since the terrifying missile crisis the

previous fall, both sides had been moving warily towards détente, but this breakthrough allayed the fear of nuclear war for a whole generation. It was the single most important achievement of his presidency. In the last six months of his life, Kennedy seemed to redefine his relationship to his office. As Arthur Schlesinger Jr. has written, "he was doing at last in the summer of 1963 what he had been reluctant to do before: putting the office of the Presidency on the line at the risk of defeat."

Most of Kennedy's legislative efforts, thwarted in his lifetime, came to fruition only under Lyndon Johnson in 1964 and 1965—partly because of the climate of shame that followed the assassination, partly because of Johnson's brilliant legislative skills and his sweeping victory over Goldwater. Johnson knew how the system worked and manipulated it with consummate craft. His Great Society programmes completed the unfinished agenda of social welfare going back to the New Deal—civil rights, voting rights, medical care for the elderly, a war on poverty. But Johnson, who had first come to Washington as a young New Dealer and rural populist, also believed in these causes as Kennedy, raised in wealth and privilege, never fully could. On civil rights, for exam-



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Cynical heritage of the age of illusions

Reagan, when it was resolved in favour of an unambiguous shift to the right. Had Truman lost to Dewey or Kennedy to Nixon, Reagan never would have become president. Conservatives would have taken the blame for the failure of conservative programmes, leaving liberals free to sharpen their ideas while in opposition. But politicians like Kennedy wanted to win.

Like Lenin, he hoped that power would come first and a change in political consciousness later. (Wait for my second term, Kennedy informed all who pressed him.) Yet once in power, Democrats were essentially paralysed. If they tried to stand for the New Deal, they risked unpopularity. Yet if they opted for "realism" and "pragmatism", they not only seemed opportunistic, but wound up strengthening the hand of their opposition. Having rejected any effort to govern as liberals, Kennedy had to choose but to run the country as conservatives. Yet since he was not a real conservative, the net effect of his approach was to cover his efforts with inactivity while expelling conservatism to remain free of any blame. (Only in America could such prominently capitalised programmes as the World Bank or business subsidies be denounced as socialism.)

No other area of public policy more dramatically illustrates the perverse nature of the Kennedy legacy than fiscal policy. Kennedy was surrounded by economists who told him that balanced budgets were a relic of the past. Yet the president was unwilling to venture into even moderate Keynesian orthodoxy. Even after Kennedy made headlines by endorsing Keynesian economics in a 1962 address at Yale University, he turned around a few months later and repudiated the Keynesian orthodoxy at the Economic Club of New York.

That president, as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. wrote, "simply did not want another major fight with business. Torn between his desire to appease business and the hectoring of his own economists, Kennedy finally settled on a compromise. He would deliberately unbalance the budget to stimulate the economy, but not by increasing government spending (preferred by liberals), but instead by cutting taxes, especially taxes on business. The Kennedy tax-cut was hailed by one (Republican) economist as a "fiscal revolution", but it was hardly a shift to the left. Keynes had hoped that public action could direct private appetites; Kennedy's approach was to try to use private appetites to expand public choice. The Kennedy administration, having rejected efforts to expand the welfare state, could only reward its votary constituents through economic growth. Growth presupposed business confidence, and in order to obtain it, Kennedy became the single most pro-business president of the post-war era.

Reagan's right flank point to the Kennedy tax-cut as proof that their ideas can work. If John Kennedy's economic ideas could be expropriated with little attempt at camouflage by the Reagan administration, so could his notions about foreign policy and national security. And once again, the reason has much to do with the dilemma of a liberal governing a conservative society. As it does with anything actually taking place out there beyond America's borders. The first principle of Kennedy's foreign policy was never to appear weak—not in the face of external enemies, but against the Republican Party. Kennedy's was America's most unstable foreign policy until the last three years. Twice the administration raised the spectre of ouster: war, once over Cuba, the other over

Berlin. The defence budget shot up, including enormous increases for such Reaganite tit-bits as civil defence and covert operations. A military draft was instituted, while a martial spirit was cultivated. And, most bitter legacy of all, the Kennedy administration made the dramatic commitment to increase American forces in south east Asia that destroyed whatever residue of liberalism America had left.

"I used to ask my brother each week whether he liked the job," Bobby Kennedy once commented. "And he always answered he did. During that period of time he'd say, 'What a fantastic job it would be if you didn't have the Russians.' Kennedy's lament could apply to all post-war American presidents, none of whom (save perhaps Nixon) were ever comfortable with the fact that America might not have been the only victor of the First World War. America is the single most lasting contribution a president could have made: would have been to reform the American people about the actually existing complexities of the world they sought to rule. Kennedy did make an effort to do so in June 1963 at American University—surely his finest hour—but by then it was too late. Three years of militaristic rhetoric and cold-war adventurism had created a consensus around a simple-minded anti-communism that could not be broken. Indeed, the Kennedy administration bears more responsibility for the persistence of cold war reflexes in the United States than any other. Ronald Reagan, whose record in this policy is considerably less militaristic than Kennedy's, makes no effort to claim that he is anything but a small-town chauvinist. Kennedy made larger claims to internationalism, making his failure to dent America's instinctive parochialism a more serious

illusions

of faith. Kennedy's first act as president, announced in a press conference the day after his election, was to reappoint Allen Dulles head of the CIA and J. Edgar Hoover chief of the FBI. As the new administration moved to fill its available seats, an unmistakable pattern appeared: loyal service to the Democratic Party and liberal principles meant exile to minor or symbolic posts. Chester Bowles, Adlai Stevenson, John Kenneth Galbraith, while Republican, silent or active, Kennedy was rewarded with real power (Douglas Dillon, Robert McNamara, John McCona). Here the contrast with Ronald Reagan—who meticulously moved every Democrat he could find from even the lowest office, right-wing barrel—could not be greater. Why is it that liberals like Kennedy would automatically move to appoint a conservative when a conservative would never be expected to appoint a liberal? The aggressive self-interest of American conservatism lives off the "insecurity" of American liberalism. Ronald Reagan's certain conviction that all his ideas are correct, and all his opponents misguided, is too late. Three years of militaristic rhetoric and cold-war adventurism had created a consensus around a simple-minded anti-communism that could not be broken. Indeed, the Kennedy administration bears more responsibility for the persistence of cold war reflexes in the United States than any other. Ronald Reagan, whose record in this policy is considerably less militaristic than Kennedy's, makes no effort to claim that he is anything but a small-town chauvinist. Kennedy made larger claims to internationalism, making his failure to dent America's instinctive parochialism a more serious

arts of image-making as a surrogate for political sophistication.

One has to admire Kennedy for the thoroughness of his political management. It was a stroke of genius to invite Pablo Casals to the White House, even if Kennedy's own taste in music leaned toward the smoothness of popular songs. Any other president, after meeting Norman Mailer, would clumsily praise his most famous novel, *The Naked and the Dead*. The Kennedy men, having thoroughly researched the matter, discovered that Mailer himself preferred *The Deer Park*, which the President then casually mentioned. To throw out the first ball at a Washington Senators opening game, Kennedy presided for hours so that his toes would impress the country. He even had the grass in Washington painted green for his inaugural, although a sudden snowstorm buried it all. The lack of concern for political ideas in this administration was more than matched by its devotion to political technique.

Compared to Truman and Eisenhower, both of whom seemed to belong to an older and vanished America, Kennedy's administration stands out as the first truly modern presidency of the post-war period. Older America valued self-reliance and incorruptibility, while modern America speaks of efficiency and accomplishment. Politics was an art in the old, a science in the new. Power was suspect and circumscribed in the old order, sharpened and exercised in the new. Whereas to old-fashioned legalists, policy had to be shaped within the rules established by the Constitution, to Kennedy and all of his successors the Constitution would be fitted to accommodate the dictates of policy.

John Kennedy and his intellectual sycophants worked assiduously to de-legitimize such "antique" ideas as caution, the separation of powers, localism, and open government, substituting in their place action, coordination, impatience, emergency and charisma. Kennedy's legacy to Amer-

ican politics was to preside over the transition to an entirely new conception of the state, one marked by secrecy, rule-breaking, press manipulation, lying, intellectual corruption, and arrogance.

"Is there a plan to brief and brain-wash key press within 12 hours or so?", reads a note in Kennedy's handwriting that was evidently written just before the Bay of Pigs invasion. If the Kennedy administration gave its policies the same attention to detail that it paid to its efforts at secrecy and manipulation, it might have had a few successes. But how exactly do you tell the American people, who like to think of themselves as fair and decent, that you are planning the assassination of a foreign head of state? What is the best manner of telling the minority constituents who voted for you that you are attempting to take the steam out of their protests because you want the support of Southern Congressmen? Because the administration could not publish its real objectives without creating a scandal, it simply chose to keep them secret.

There was a time in American life when conservatives stood for the distrust of power and liberals spoke of the need to expand the scope of government. To Kennedy belongs the credit for legitimizing the modern notion that the pursuit of power is its own justification. Unfortunately for liberalism (and the Democratic Party), expansionary visions of power have proven far more compatible with the agenda of the right than of the left. The state apparatus which Kennedy was instrumental in creating has been put to its fullest use by Ronald Reagan. The liberal theorists around Kennedy were so intent on accumulating power that they neglected to consider what it might be used for.

The American right is not so myopic. It knows that Americans want both to preserve their illusions and to poke their noses into the affairs of other states. No more appropriate mechanism has been discovered to enable society to meddle where it can yet also pretend that it does not.

understand what it is doing than the flexible and cowardly government brought into being by a liberal administration in the early 1960s.

Writers as diverse as Henry Fairlie and Gerry Willis have blamed Kennedy's failure on his insincerity. Schooled in a storybook reading of British history, Kennedy viewed himself as a disinterested Tory bringing enlightenment to the labouring classes. Yet the public service ideology of John Buchan, when mixed with the predilection of Walter Bagehot's need for "glorified" government, came out differently in America than it might have in Britain. There is little deference in American political culture and even less respect for class and tradition. Kennedy's liberalism and intellectualism translated into elitism and arrogance, making Ronald Reagan's common sense wisdom and modesty seem populist by comparison.

For a prosaic and materialistic people, Americans have a rich and active fantasy life. A surprisingly large number of them believe that their country never wrongs but is frequently wronged, helps others out of generosity without asking a price, supports democracy throughout the Third World, is the last bastion of peace while all other states prepare for war, and has more domestic freedom and equality than any other society on earth. There are two kinds of politics in America: the politics of reality and the politics of fantasy. John F. Kennedy, alone among all postwar presidents, seemed to understand that the world did not work the way American fantasy proclaimed it did. Yet he refused, time after time, to play the role of educator and statesman, depriving the United States of its last chance to wake up from its extraordinary self-delusion. Fantasy has now won its triumph in America, complete with movie stars and Hollywood actors.

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BOOKS

The aftermath of war

by Christopher Thorne

Ernest Bevin: Foreign Secretary 1945-1951

by Alan Bullock
William Heinemann, £30.00
ISBN 0 434 09452 8

Christmas approaches. For loved ones who are professionally involved in foreign affairs, arriving daily to ensure that Britain and the world stagger intact into the New Year; for friends who, from beyond the ranks of officialdom, contemplate with despair a succession of international crises and dangers, here is a tonic. Provide them - as all students of contemporary history and foreign policy should provide themselves - with this masterly survey by Alan Bullock. For in it they will encounter the full extent of the problems, perils and uncertainties that faced Ernest Bevin as Foreign Secretary from 1945 to 1951. And when comparisons have been made, they may well conclude that our present situation might have been worse.

For these were years of enormous change and confusion in international affairs. Since 1943, if not earlier, when the huge resources of the USA and the USSR had begun fully to tell in the wars against Germany and Japan, an essentially bipolar system had emerged, but its implications had yet to be completely absorbed or comprehended. The "German question" that had lain at the heart of European instability since 1871 was only in the process of being solved by the division of that country and the freezing of the continent within the framework of the Cold War. To the devastation and dislocation brought by war in Europe and the Far East was added the fear and the challenge engendered by a new weapon of terrible dimensions. The forces of Zionism and of Arab nationalism in the Middle East, for example, were transforming the political realities of those regions. China, having long had to accept the role of one acted upon by others, was emerging as a defiantly independent - and Communist - power of potentially huge proportions. In Southern Asia, an era of western dominance was coming to an end, while in Western Europe loss of confidence mingled with the beginnings of a movement that was to provide the possibility of transcending - or at least drastically limiting - the inter-state rivalries of the past.

A revolution far more profound and lasting in its implications than the decisions for war in 1917 and 1941 was being enacted in the assumptions and attitudes governing American foreign relations. And again in the realm of ideas, men and women who after an earlier "world" war had learned to condemn sentiment and alliances as conducive to robbery, conflict, and war, were now looking to the creation of a new international organization finally to banish such a prospect, now had to contemplate the revival of beliefs and practices that rested the safety of a state upon the power of deterrence and the pledges of its friends.

No country was more bound up in these questions than Britain: a victor in the war, yet financially ruined; financially still "dependent" on the power by virtue of its imperial possessions and Commonwealth ties; yet under increased pressure to surrender its former and without the resources to ensure the protection of Australia and New Zealand, for example. She had survived (it is absurd to suggest, as some now do, that she had "lost" the war). But so, too, and not only on the political right, had assumptions and expectations that belonged to an age now gone. Thus, Richard Crossland and Michael Foot were among those who argued in 1947 - perhaps the nadir of the country's fortunes - that a European socialist grouping, centred on Britain and France, could form the "third force" that would "hold the balance of world power", while Harold Wilson would be treading well into the 1960s that Britain was "a world power" and a world influence, she was "nothing". Even Clement Attlee, well known as Prime Minister of the

slenderness of the resources at his command, and at the end of 1946 inclined (to Bevin's horror) to pull out of the Middle East, looked for a time to a resurgence based on the Commonwealth and the strengthening of Britain's position in central Africa - "the line . . . through Lagos and Kenya".

It was Bevin, more than any other individual, who was called upon to steer Britain through the maelstrom, and it is upon Bevin that Bullock maintains his focus throughout. His book, in other words, does not remove the opportunity for more detailed studies of the formulation of foreign policy over specific issues and areas; but for an understanding of how the centre and infinitely complex network of pressures, considerations and desiderata was perceived and responded to, it will remain indispensable.

To a task that was arguably the most difficult ever to face a British Foreign Secretary, Bevin brought a number of valuable assets. He had the unwavering support of a Prime Minister who was content to leave the shaping and execution of foreign policy almost entirely in his hands. He had already won for himself an outstanding position within British politics and within Whitehall. He was closely in touch, it seemed, not merely with the trades union movement but with the feelings of the bulk of the British people, and he invested his office and policies with the strength of a massive personality. (In all these respects, of course, the contrast with the present scene could scarcely be greater.) His shrewdness, independence of mind and tenacity of purpose quickly won him the respect of his officials, while to a remarkable degree he came to possess their affection as well.

On the international plane, Bevin inherited the connections that had been built up during the unique war-time collaboration with the United States. Furthermore, during his tenure of office the British Government was to obtain from Washington a blessing that its predecessors, above all in the second half of the 1930s, had longed for in vain: the acceptance of American guarantee of the country's security. The irony, of course, as Robert Heilbrunn has emphasized in his *Ambiguous Partnership*, was that this long-awaited commitment was accompanied by a marked diminution of Britain's ability to shape and execute its foreign policies according to its own preferences. (Even in 1944, the head of the Foreign Office's North American Department had foreseen the possibility that dependence on American financial assistance would become so great that "we may well find ourselves forced to follow the United States in a line of policy with which we do not fundamentally agree.") The transatlantic relationship was "special" in certain important respects, but even in 1939-41 it had been one of "competitive cooperation", as David Reynolds has put it in his admirable study, *The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance* (a book which is not cited in the present study, which appears at times to underestimate the degree to which the competitive element had been present throughout the Second World War).

London was now expected to fall into line as an important but dependent ally. Nor was demonstrated overtly the question of sharing atomic secrets, for example, was the parity and distrust on the American side. Between 1945 and 1951 Britain was frequently the object of suspicion, exasperation and indignation over the socialism professed by its Government and its reluctance to embrace wholeheartedly the cause of multilateralism in international commerce; over its opposition to returning the German coal industry to private ownership and to preserving German industry as a whole from the dismantling entailed in reparations; over its readiness to recognize the People's Republic of China, and its refusal to move towards the integration of Western Europe.

Yet at the same time Bevin's policies were subjected to strong criticism from the left. The Labour Party, for example, had neither the resources

tended to share an anti-Americanism with elements of the right in British politics. (This opposition from within the Labour ranks eased in 1948, but there were still 112 abstentions, mainly from that side of the House, when the Nato Pact was presented for approval in 1949.) Bevin was only able to contend with these and other, often conflicting, pressures because he had developed his own set of firm ideas about the position facing Britain, together with the principles and priorities that should guide her actions. At bottom, in Bullock's words, he regarded the country's difficulties "as temporary, rather than as part of a long-term pattern of declining power". As her resources - not least, coal production - recovered, so she would regain a substantial freedom of manoeuvre in foreign policy.

By the same token, he was ready to join Attlee and a small group of Ministers (the remainder of the Cabinet were left in ignorance) in deciding that Britain must manufacture her own atomic bomb. By the same token again, he did not hesitate to make plain to Washington views that did not coincide with its own. (Bevin's greatest contribution as Foreign Secretary, Attlee later told Bullock, was "standing up to the Americans.") Nor despite American pressure would Britain merge her fortunes and future with those of what he saw as an inherently volatile and fissionous Europe. Britain would provide the leadership of a European grouping, above all in bringing about a fadisable set of links with the United States; she would not, however, proceed along the path towards some kind of European federation, as Monnet and Schuman appeared to be proposing.

As Bevin saw it, then, Britain's future rested on a unique set of relations embracing Western Europe, the Commonwealth and the USA. It depended also on resisting, with these allies, the designs of the Soviet Union. In one of the many threads that he traces and weaves together with great skill, Bullock shows how Bevin's view of Soviet intentions developed, across the watershed of 1947-8, until he was convinced that Moscow was bent upon swallowing all of Europe if this could be achieved by any means short of war; that, looking back as well as forward, "there never was a quarrel between Trotsky and Stalin on the issue of revolution. The dispute took place over tactics". Paced with such a challenge, it became doubly essential, as Bevin and the Chiefs of Staff saw it, to maintain both stability and ballgame, and to ensure that the British East, a region vital from the point of view of communications, oil supplies, and relations with the Muslim world, was not left in a state of anarchy and for providing the RAF with bases from which it could strike back at the USSR should war come about.

Such a crude summary of Bevin's approaches to the major issues of the day might appear to confirm the charge brought against him by his left-wing critics: that he had adopted wholesale the underlying assumptions of traditional power politics, and had turned his back on socialist beliefs that it came to foreign affairs. It is, however, that of the merits of this book; not that it dispels this simplistic notion. Bevin retained a nineteenth-century liberal's belief in "the scope and judgement of the common man of the world". In a passage that might have been taken from a League of Nations Union pamphlet, he declared in 1945: "There has never been a war yet which, if the facts had been put calmly before the ordinary folk, could not have been prevented."

He was also to be seen in the light of a "great world-wide movement" of international law by "world law". In terms of more immediate possibilities, he placed much emphasis on the need to raise living standards in the less developed countries, and played a decisive part in the creation of the Colombo Plan, which aimed to achieve this in South East Asia.

For the most part, however, Bevin had neither the resources



July 1945. Twenty-four hours after the formation of the Labour government, Attlee and Bevin set off to take the places of Churchill and Eden at Potsdam.

for such projects. His hopes for a "partnership" between Britain and Middle Eastern states, for example, that could benefit "the ordinary people" were overshadowed by the conflicts surrounding an Arab nationalism that he underestimated and a Zionism that led many Jews to portray him as their enemy. On this last, highly sensitive issue, it is likely that some opinions will be beyond shifting. But there will be many who will be persuaded by Bullock's careful examination of the evidence and his conclusion that Bevin, for all his outbursts of heavy-handedness and belligerence, was not fundamentally anti-Jewish.

He believed it was essential that the Arabs should not be alienated from the West, and that Zionist pressures - not least, through an American President too readily swayed by domestic political considerations - were bringing about a situation that was unfair to the Palestinian Arabs and would be a source of lasting resentment and strife.

Having had to join his Cabinet colleagues in passing to the UN a burden that had become intolerable, and having failed to prevent partition, he allowed his anxieties, in Bullock's words, "to crowd out recognition of the Jewish epic achievement in turning the disaster of the extermination camps into the triumph of Zionism". The anxieties of the Israelis, on their left-wing critics, on their right-wing side, "left no room for recognizing the role of Bevin in carrying on his efforts to damp down hostilities in the Middle East . . . or his desire to get a settlement in Palestine that would not leave the Arabs committed to its overthrow."

Bevin failed over Palestine; but in retrospect one may conclude that the problem was beyond even the compass of the international community as a whole. He may be said to have failed, too, to ensure that those who had been deeply implicated in, and had profited by, the barbarities of the Third Reich were appropriately treated - a topic on which this book is surprisingly silent. (There is no reference to Tom Bower's formidable indictment, *Blind Eye to Murder*.) Bevin clearly retained a deep distrust of the Germans in general, "did not change the German character very much," he observed, "it is a matter of time; however, he did as much as anyone to create the conditions in which a Federal Republic could be brought into the ranks of the major Western powers. There is not the

space here to rehearse what Bullock demonstrates in detail: that is, the crucial part played by Bevin in the realization of the Marshall Aid scheme through the Organization for European Economic Cooperation; in the creation of the West European Union; above all (with the help of his close relationship with Dean Acheson), in the formation of Nato as an essential means of both checking the Soviet Union's insidious pressures and giving Western Europe the confidence to build anew. The West's resolve to stand firm, though without confronting a confrontation, over the Soviet blockade of Berlin also owed much to Bevin's own resolute yet careful reactions; conversely, the decline of his strong grip on British policy became apparent over the Korean war as his health rapidly deteriorated in 1950-51.

Did Bevin, for all his achievements, commit Britain to that vain attempt to sustain the role of a leading world power that was to mark her foreign policy floundering into the 1970s? While not disregarding the misperceptions that the Foreign Secretary shared with most of his contemporaries, Bullock argues forcefully that in these years immediately following the Second World War it would have been disastrous had Britain not played a major part in the re-shaping of European, transatlantic and Middle Eastern affairs above all. Rather than "saddling Britain with a role she could not sustain", he suggests, Bevin "provided his successors with the indispensable basis of security in the Western Alliance on which they could then proceed to make whatever adjustments, such options as entry into Europe and withdrawal from the Middle East and east of Suez."

It is a conclusion that may not allow sufficiently for the degree to which assumptions and attitudes, and not simply specific choices of policy, tend to be carried forward left by Bevin, as much as they are by his successors. But Bullock's summary would suggest, the argument that we must distinguish between the immediate post-war years and the period that followed is entirely persuasive. It is a further demonstration of how, from first to last, complexity is matched by clarity in this fine study of a very great man.

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BOOKS

Legacies of 1848

The Republican Experiment, 1848-1852

by Maurice Agulhon
Cambridge University Press, £20.00 and £5.95
ISBN 0 521 24829 9 and 28988 2

France's republican experiment in 1848 seemed in the short run no more successful than the other revolutions of that year. Its radical phase was over even before the disillusioned workers of Paris rose in revolt in June, and the election of Louis-Napoleon as President in December 1848 was the first step on the road to the authoritarian Second Empire.

Yet one great innovation of 1848 survived: universal male suffrage. Replacing a monarchy in which voting had been based on a narrow property franchise, the Second Republic introduced France overnight to modern democratic politics, and part of its fascination for historians lies in the tension between political modernity and social archaism. In Paris and other large cities, there was an explosion of socialist theorizing and expectation, fuelled by innumerable working-class clubs and newspapers; but the mass of the new electors lived in the countryside, isolated by poor communications and widespread illiteracy. For permanent success, republican ideas would have to penetrate rural France.

The social conflicts of the year 1848 and the presidential election suggested that their time had not yet come, but one of Maurice Agulhon's arguments in *The Republican Experiment* is that the years 1849-52 saw a rapid growth of political consciousness, at least in certain regions. The growth of the "democratic socialist" opposition and the violent resistance in the south to Louis-Napoleon's *coup d'état* in 1851 showed that solid foundations for democracy were already being laid. Thus the Second Republic pointed forward to the Third.

Agulhon's book is full of stimulating analyses and interpretations, though it is designed primarily as a university-level textbook, and traces with admirable clarity (and with the help of a useful chronological table and bibliography) the succeeding phases of the complex years. No one is better equipped to write such a book than Agulhon, whose works on the 19th-century French Revolution and the spread of democratic ideas among peasants and rural artisans, and who is a specialist on the kind of political symbolism and iconography to which the men of 1848 were so attracted - trees of liberty, flags, monuments, historic dates, even beards, which first acquired their radical connotations at this time.

Whose revolt?

Partners in Revolution: the United Irishmen and France
by Marianna Elliott
Yale University Press, £15.00
ISBN 0 300 02770 2

Dr Elliott's book is the first major study of the 1790s in Ireland to appear for several decades, and draws exhaustively on the archival sources of three countries. On its main theme - the relations between the middle-class United Irishmen in Ireland, Britain and France - it is an accomplished work; it also illuminates other themes of the decade, and should serve to open up again a general debate on the impact of the French Revolution on Ireland.

In particular, the book brings out more fully than any other account the dimensions of the debate between those who wished to proceed with rebellion without delay, and those who wanted to link it to a French invasion. This debate is seen even as essential to the explanation of the weak preceding outbreak of rebellion of May 23, 1798.

The emphasis Dr Elliott puts on this debate is also one of the reasons why she emphasizes an "apolitical



A monument to the French Revolution at Méry, twenty-five kilometres south-east of Paris. This is one of many illustrations in General Sir John Hackett's *The Profession of Arms* (Sidgwick & Jackson, £12.95).

popular momentum in the countryside, which almost independently reached a peak in 1798. But the precise nature of lower-class rural unrest and the relevance to it of the ideas of the middle-class United Irishmen are so complex that Dr Elliott's comments are by no means the last word on the subject. Indeed, they tend themselves to be confused, involving as they do an ultimately unreal distinction between two distinct layers of rural unrest labelled as "Whiteboy" and "Defender". Dr Elliott relies rather heavily on the vague and imprecise idea of a millennial urge among the lower classes to undo the seventeenth-century settlement which had transferred ownership of the soil into the hands of the Anglo-Irish.

The dislocation between the United Irishmen and lower-class malcontents is also illustrated by her interpretation of the character of the '98 rebellion. Her book is surprisingly favourable to the United Irishmen, as much resourcing them from officialism as from neglect. If the rebellion was marred by excesses, it was to her view not because the United Irishmen had been reckless, but because the fears, aspirations and tensions of the rural classes took over. By 1798 the hold of the United Irishmen Society outside Leitrim is said to have been weakening, and the number of sworn rebels is said not to have been great. Dr Elliott believes that it is unlikely that there would have been a rebellion in 1798 if the leaders had been at liberty.

Agulhon's treatment of economic matters is rather perfunctory. There is little about the economic crisis which ushered the revolution in, or about the specific grievances (taxes, wine prices, forest rights, and so on) which kept certain rural areas in a state of simmering discontent. For Agulhon, who is above all a historian of politics and political culture, such discontents perhaps seem secondary to the liberation of political energies which was provoked by universal suffrage itself.

This book first appeared in 1973 as part of an outstanding series of textbooks on French history since the Revolution. Now several of them are being translated as the "Cambridge History of Modern France". Janet Lloyd's translation reads very smoothly, and altogether this is an auspicious beginning to a most welcome enterprise.

Robert Anderson

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Gurus and garlic

Beyond the Terror: essays in French regional and social history 1794-1815
edited by Gwynne Lewis and Colin Lucas
Cambridge University Press, £22.50
ISBN 0 521 25114 1

Eight of Richard Cobb's friends and pupils have joined together to produce these essays in his honour as he approaches retirement. Anarchy, to which the dedicatee has devoted his writing life, often characterizes celebratory collections of this sort. Alfred Cobban, that other guru around whom British students of French history gathered in the 1950s, disapproved of them for this reason. But the editors have spent too much time studying anarchy under Cobb's inspiration to want to practise it themselves, and the collection they have assembled is tightly controlled.

All except one of the essays, an introductory one by Martyn Lyons on Cobb and the historians, is about France between the fall of Robespierre and the fall of Bonaparte. Some of them are outstanding. Colin Lucas's exploration of themes in southern violence after 9 Thermidor, in particular, is a brilliant, up-to-date discussion of an important issue. It is a fine example of how to write jargon-free social history while absorbing all the thought of the jargon-mongers, and it needs several readings to digest and ponder all its lively ideas and insights.

It is complemented by his co-editor's survey of political brigandage and popular disaffection in the south-east, although this is territory that the author has ranged over before. Colin Jones's analysis of the politics and personnel of social welfare and Alm Forret's contribution on conscription and crime also have distinct echoes of recent books. They are leftovers from greater works.

Peter Jones's material so far, however, has appeared only in article form, and what he writes here on common rights and agrarian idealism in the southern Massif Central adds a further piece to the impressive jigsaw of his findings on this area. Written in a straightforward style, it is a subtle appreciation of the complex problems surrounding the question of common rights, and the difficulties of reaching clear general conclusions about them. Olwen Hufton, the only historian to straddle both the Cobban and Cobb camps, announces a new range of interests when she looks at the

painful process of reconstructing the church before the concordat. Stripped of its anachronistic feminist rhetoric, this is a good contribution to the religious history of the Directory as well as a useful coda to her earlier work on women in the revolution.

The problem with Cobb's history is that it is meant to be wallowed in. The reader is bombarded with picturesque examples of popular behaviour punctuated by much quoting of French terms and phrases until he swears as if overcome by garlic. Even the master himself sometimes gets carried away, and increasing numbers of revolutionary historians are wondering whether this approach is not now yielding to diminishing returns. Students certainly do not find it easy to make sense of, or distil meaningful conclusions from, and in the hands of imitators it can become monotonous. This collection does not entirely escape that pitfall. Just occasionally big issues like the revolutionary bourgeoisie, capitalism or agrarian individualism peer through the curtains, like great performers waiting to come on after the warm-up men have finished; clearly several of the contributors do have strong views on what the revolution was all about, but will not risk Cobb's scorn by making parade of them here.

It is therefore refreshing at the end to find one essay with no visible trace of his influence at all. In "Rhine and Loire: Napoleonic elites and social order", Geoffrey Ellis soberly analyses who emerged on top of the pile, when all the brigands, deserters, *émigrés*, *insoumis*, *égores* and *femmes coupables* had passed by. At once an assessment of its meaning, and an original contribution to the question, Ellis's essay is a godsend to all teachers whose students find the whole concept of the *notables* baffling but cannot, or will not, pursue the matter in French. Like its subject, it may well endure longer than some of the racier elements it exists alongside.

William Doyle

William Doyle is professor of modern history at the University of Nottingham.

Britain and Revolutionary France: conflict, subversion and propaganda is a collection of essays edited by Colin Jones and published by the University of Exeter at £1.75, as number five in the series "Exeter Studies in History". It includes Michael Duffy on British policy in the war against revolutionary France, Marianne Elliott on French subversion in Britain, and Robert Hole on British anti-revolutionary propaganda.

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BOOKS

Rhetoric of evasion

The Philosophy of Popper by T. E. Burke
Manchester University Press, £16.00 and £6.50
ISBN 0 7190 0904 9 and 0911 1
Popper and After: four modern Irrationalists by David Stove
Pergamon, £8.95 and £4.95
ISBN 0 08 026792 0 and 026791 2

It has been one of the great virtues of Sir Karl Popper's philosophy of science that it extruded dogmatism from science and opened up an exciting arena of competitive theorizing. His rejection of induction as the basis of science, which Hume, but was elaborated in such a way as to constitute a revolution. But as with most revolutions, consolidation of the new order has proved more difficult than the initial coup. The problem was how to prevent a helpless slide into scepticism, indeed virtually nihilism. In particular, the strong suggestion in some of Popper's remarks that scientific truths do not accumulate has often been taken up by such followers as Lakatos and Feysabend in a spirit of *epistemic bourgeois*.

T. E. Burke discusses many of these issues in his pleasantly written and useful set of pedagogic homages to Popper. He explicitly works within the Popperian paradigm of philosophy, but at times calls up Wittgenstein and Austin to elude with some subtlety of meaning the often skeletal logical simplicities of Popper. Whether a shotgun marriage of Popper and Wittgenstein can provide a coherent position or not, it certainly serves to mitigate somewhat the more irritating consequences of Popper's cult of originality, and the vanity detectable in his claims to have solved perennial philosophical problems. Burke explicates Popper's view of science in terms of the intention we have for saying anything, and the commitment we undertake in saying it, and by resisting attempts to widen the gap between the two seeks to block the slide from fallibilism into scepticism: "the criteria determine the commitment and with it the appropriate method of assessment."

There's a good discussion of historicism; but his treatment of Popper's work on history, politics and society seems to me to show that, apart from some judicious famous arguments, much of it is, in this, and underdeveloped, Popper's heart. It got his polemical passion, lies elsewhere.

David Stove's treatment of what he takes to be Popper's irrationalism is much less well received by saying that for every grand old man of philosophy cutting a dash in the metropolis, there is a dogged provincial critic who has an unforgiving eye for the slipshod reasoning, concealed debts and (above all here) equivocations. Stove is precisely this kind of nemesis, except that such a characterization might suggest a humourous solatium. On the contrary, some of Stove's critical passages - such as his discussion of Popper on the fallibility of probability statements - are hilarious.

Stove's accusation of irrationalism is made not only against Popper, but also against Lakatos, Kuhn and Feysabend, and it rests upon the fundamental assumption that in the last four centuries, science has accumulated a vast amount of knowledge about the workings of nature. It is the denial of this proposition which he takes to be irrational, and argues that just such a denial is to be found, albeit implicitly, in the authors he discusses. Like all good critics, he has an acute eye for rhetoric, and a particular concern for equivocation. Two evasive techniques are identified. The first is "neutralizing" success words by a technique most expeditiously achieved by putting terms like "prove" "refute" "show" "find" and so on in inverted commas which may (or again, may not) indicate to the reader that these words do not carry their full sense.

The second technique he calls "suborning logical expressions" and consists in enclosing logical expressions such as "if" "incomparable" with

"y") within historical or sociological remarks about classes of people (such as scientists) who do not accept the logical proposition in question. The issue raised by the sentence thus bifurcates, making criticism difficult. He criticizes Lakatos as being particularly adept of the former technique, tussling "so-called" into his writing and using quotation marks almost as a verbal tie. Throughout all this, there shines the rage, typical of a Sydney philosopher, at any wilful attempt to obscure what the issue is. Stove is also acutely aware of the element of intimidatory pedantry (*ad terrorem*, as he puts it) and the *enfant terrible* with which Lakatos and Feysabend tease their readers. It is above all objected that they say things that they

can't and don't believe. Stove suspects that Kuhn differs from the rest in actually believing the full irrationalist case, and it is of course Kuhn who has most unequivocally advanced the doctrine that there can be no accumulation of scientific knowledge.

The hard centre of the book consists in tracing the historical source of the irrationalist argument to a misuse of Hume. Hume's own argument is then analysed in detail to isolate its relevant fundamental premise: deductivism, or the view that the only good reasons are deductively based. Without this assumption, "the argument would have no sceptical or irrationalist consequences". It is because this premise must be propped up that Stove's "irrationalists" have recourse to the

various kinds of equivocations criticized. To the more general question of how Popper could have taken seriously such absurd expressions as "Irrationality is not a virtue of a theory, but a vice". Stove conjectures (more particularly in a recent essay in *Philosophy*) that it was in response to the shock, intense in the intellectual community in Popper's youth, caused by the discovery that Newtonianism was not the cast-iron certainty it had seemed to both philosophers and natural scientists in the previous two centuries.

To identify in Popper a central vice called "irrationalism" is certainly going to confuse a lot of people who have taken on board Popper's own hatred of what he thought was "irrationalism" in Plato, Hegel, and other

enemies of the Open Society. And after a generation's assault upon something called "inductivism", Stove's book opens up the prospect of a *revanche* inductive probability. But such is the millenary castle of thought which seems to dominate much of the philosophy of science. Still, this is a brilliant and brave book, and deserves the place it will have in setting the terms of arguments to come.

Kenneth Minogue

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Politics of freedom

Kant's Political Philosophy by Howard Williams
Blackwell, £20.00
ISBN 0 631 13123 X

Kant's strategy when analysing the work of other philosophers was formidable and his skill consummate. Always incisive and penetrating, he also used the occasion to promote his own philosophy. To expect Howard L. Williams to write as powerfully as Kant would be asking for too much, but unfortunately he spoils his good case for Kant's prominence as a political thinker by repetitiveness, excessive fondness of detail and occasional bursts of Hegelianism. In one respect, however, he follows Kant's example. He uses his monograph to propagandize his own political views which are sympathetic to, though not uncritical of, unorthodox Marxism as exemplified by two writers, Lucien Goldmann and Herbert Marcuse, with whose interpretation of Kant he noisily burdens his otherwise useful study.

Kant's political thought has, as Williams rightly observes, been undervalued, particularly in the English-speaking world, though the tide may well be turning - a work of the stature of John Rawls's *A Theory of Justice*, for instance, has a distinct Kantian ring. The reasons for this neglect are patent. Most of Kant's political writings are occasional pieces which are understandably overshadowed by the great edifices of his critique. Thus, the legend arose that Kant's interest in political thought was peripheral and he was only a minor political thinker. Williams rightly combats this myth. But his claim to be the first to have convincingly shown that Kant's political theory is at one with his critical philosophy is, like many claims of intellectual priority, highly questionable.

Williams's account of Goldmann (who was an entertaining man, though rather heavy-handed writer) focuses attention on a basic problem of Kantian ethics and politics, viz. the difficulty of applying his principles to practice. In Kant's view, by relying on experience alone it is neither possible to vindicate scepticism philosophically nor to discover the basic principles of morality and politics; experience is contradictory and contingent. In order to impose order upon the incoherence of practical life we have to look for principles of reason which are logically prior to experience. These principles, though universally valid, are merely formal. But precisely because they are formal, they are also empty. For example, Williams, in the wake of Goldmann, believes that the second formulation of the categorical imperative, which enjoins us to treat ourselves and others as ends and not as means, entails condemning the capitalist market economy in which wage-slaves are allegedly treated as means. But we can also appeal to the categorical imperative to reject the planned economy preferred by Williams since it denies freedom of choice to individuals for the sake of the supposed greater good of society. In fact, this liberal interpretation of Kantian politics is far more common.

Williams is however right in emphasizing that in both ethics and politics Kant is the philosopher of freedom which for him is logically prior to all other inalienable rights. Once, however, Kant is taken to be a model defender of freedom of one has to be reconciled with the freedom of all others, and that can be achieved only within a state



This drawing of an Oriental soldier is by Antoine-François Callet (1741-1825) and is part of the exhibition "The Draughtsman's Art", currently showing at the University of Manchester's Whitworth Gallery.

whose constitution permits all citizens a share in government. That is the core of Kant's political thought. In Kant's scheme of politics law, as Williams sees correctly, plays a central part; it is for him the outer shell of the moral realm. Respect for law makes Kant prefer reform to revolution, which he rejects in principle. But he admired the spirit which inspired the French revolution, though not the terror. Indeed, for his age he was a radical, since he demanded that all hereditary privileges be abolished and that all citizens be given an opportunity to participate in government through electing a representative legislature. That is why, Heine and Marx thought of him as the German philosopher of the French revolution.

On most major issues of Kant's thought - on the emergence of his politics from his epistemology and his ethics, on his attitude to property, on his optimistic view of history, on his plan for perpetual peace to be achieved through a federation of permanent democracies, Williams is very sound indeed. Admittedly, there are minor errors, one arising from a misleading translation of a passage in *The Metaphysics of Morals* concerning the origin of the state. They make Kant appear illiberal, which he rarely was.

But, in the main, Williams's approach to Kant is sympathetic. He even goes to some length to point out that when this philosophical arch-bachelor wrote about the social role of women to whom he denied all political rights he is more enlightened than is suggested by his depressing, unromantic definition of marriage which, for him, was a union between two persons of different sex concluded for the purpose of the life-long mutual possession of each other's sexual organs.

Williams rightly concludes that Kant's approach to politics is by no means naïvely utopian. He did not place his hopes merely on the moral improvement of mankind; but rather, in the first instance, on man's natural ability to learn from past conflicts and

need to accommodate himself to others for the sake of survival. Indeed, Kant, although he lived far from the scene of political action, was an extremely shrewd judge of contemporary politics. His friends who listened to his surprisingly witty and urbane dinner-table talk were struck by his political insight he talked as if he was privy to all the cabinet secrets of Europe. But Kant banished such ephemeral questions from his political philosophy and concentrated on the universal valid principles of reason to which we can and should appeal if confronted by the conflict of interest. Williams's study then alerts us to those fundamental issues and thus enables us to grasp why Kant belongs to the front rank of political thinkers.

Hans Reiss

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Literary issues

Philosophy and Fiction essays in literary aesthetics edited by Peter Lamarque
Aberdeen University Press, £11.95
ISBN 0 08 030353 6

The aesthetics of literature is a wide field that includes problems of many different kinds. Some of these are familiar to, and a matter of concern for, non-specialists; others occupy the attention only of aestheticians and literary theorists.

Into the first class of problems falls the issue of the censorship of works of art. If a literary work is presented as morally evil, outlook on life (or take an extreme case), and it is liable to have undesirable effects on some people, is it ever justified for

someone to forbid or suppress its publication or to limit its distribution in order to prevent moral harm to other members of the community? Another familiar issue is one of the range of threads that is referred to as "the problem of tragedy". The experience of a tragedy involves distressing emotions to which a spectator willingly submits himself, even when the conclusion of the work is in no way consolatory. Moreover, the spectator willingly submits himself to the experience of the tragedy for the sake of having the experience of the work itself, not for some further end which might be realized by his having this painful experience and which might provide him with ample recompense for his suffering. Why should anyone find it rewarding to do this? What kinds of aesthetic value can the experience of tragedy have?

The class of problems of more specialized interest includes the following three problems. First, there is a problem about the status of fictional characters. What, exactly, is a fictional character? For a fictional character is not a real person and so, it seems, does not really exist. How, then, can we be interested in the thoughts, feelings, situation and fate of a fictional character? How can we be moved by the fate of Anna Karenina, when we know perfectly well that no such woman ever existed? How, indeed, can we even acquire true or false beliefs about her, or think about her or refer to her, if she never existed?

Secondly, there is a problem, or a set of problems, about the relation between various of the features of a literary work and features of its author. It seems that in principle we can distinguish no personal qualities of the author from the properties of his creation. His work may or may not reflect his own beliefs, attitudes, feelings or qualities of character. The question is this: From the point of view of the understanding and evaluation of literature, does it matter what the author's real beliefs, attitudes, feelings and character are? If it does, is this perhaps a moral defect in the author but not thereby a defect in his work considered as literature? Can we, without losing sight of our opinion of the author from our opinion of his work?

Thirdly, there is a problem of a rather abstract sort about the nature of literary appreciation. What kind of appreciation is literary appreciation? How is it related to other kinds of appreciation - to the appreciation of scenery and wine, for instance? And why is it important to achieve a better appreciation of a work of literature?

The five problems I have outlined are the foci of the five essays collected in *Philosophy and Fiction*. The essays, originating from a conference of the Scots Philosophical Club, are written by Colin Lyas, Stain Haugom Olsen, Finn Lunde, R. W. Beardsmore and Peter Lamarque, the editor, who also provides an introduction. The authors are members of any school of philosophy and their approaches to their topics are individual. What the essays share is a non-technical clarity of presentation, a concern to solve the problems at hand with a high standard of argument.

Anyone seriously interested in the aesthetics of literature will find much of interest in the essays; the collection also forms an excellent introduction to the subject.

Malcolm Budd

Malcolm Budd is lecturer in philosophy at University College London.

BOOKS

Motile cells

Mechanisms of Cell Motility: molecular aspects of contractility by Peter Sheterline
Academic Press, £13.40
ISBN 0 12 639980 8

About a decade ago, it was found that the contractile proteins actin and myosin occur not only in muscle, but in almost all eukaryotic cells (the unit of structure in all organisms except bacteria and blue-green algae). The implication was clear: muscle provides a special case of a very general mechanism for cell motility, namely the production of force by the cyclic interaction of oriented myosin molecules with polar arrays of actin filaments. Subsequent research has produced a wealth of information on the location of these two proteins within cells, and an ever-increasing catalogue of ancillary proteins which can (or may) organize and regulate the interactions of actin and myosin.

One fascinating outcome of this research is that it is clear that contractile proteins are sometimes found in specialized motile or cytoskeletal assemblies which are radically different from muscle; actin is particularly versatile and can perform structural or even motile functions in the absence of myosin, while many of the novel ancillary proteins have no muscle counterparts. Although this diversity has made the field an exciting one in recent years, the rapid accumulation of data can prove confusing. There is, therefore, a clear need for a text which would guide the non-specialist through the mass of information now available and, by relating recent findings to basic principles or well-established models such as muscle, confer some sense of unity on the whole. This is the goal which Dr Sheterline has set himself.

His book is designed to serve as a reference text for cell biologists and to provide an integrated discussion on molecular mechanisms of cell motility for senior undergraduates and postgraduates. Unfortunately, these aims come into conflict, as a great deal of factual material is presented in a terse, undiscussive style; and the information is not used critically enough to establish and clarify basic principles, thus greatly detracting from the book's value as an introduction for undergraduates and non-specialists. On the other hand, as a work of reference the book is less comprehensive than a selection of good, recent literature reviews.

The book's first five very compressed chapters describe in considerable detail the biochemistry and molecular properties of the important contractile proteins: myosin, actin, tropomyosin, calcium-dependent regulatory proteins (for example, troponin and calmodulin) and contractile network regulatory proteins (for example, proteins which regulate actin filament assembly and regulate proteins in myosin filaments). Though useful, these chapters make for rather heavy reading. Referencing is in general adequate, though not comprehensive, as there are a few serious omissions. For example, a controversial mechanism for actin assembly is presented with neither evidence nor references.

A curious feature, however, is the lack of an introduction, which could have provided a biological context for the early chapters on biochemical and physical properties of proteins. The interested newcomer, seeking to discover why actin and myosin are important and interesting components of the cell, must first read the chapter on the organization of contractile networks in relation to function. This, and the following chapter on the cellular environment for contractile networks are the most stimulating in the book. The author wisely chooses to give the myosin equal weight with non-muscle systems, so that it is apparent as an example of, rather than a prototype for, an "actin-myosin contractile system".

Chapter seven discusses very briefly the relationships between contractile systems containing actin and myosin and other cytoplasmic filament systems: microtubules, intermediate filaments, and connectin filaments. There are also sections on interactions of



Rattlesnake striking, its specially-hinged jaws opening almost to 180 degrees. Taken from *Split Second: the world of high-speed photography* by Stephen Dalton, published by Dent at £10.95.

contractile networks with membranes and the cell surface, and on internal chemical regulation in the cell. A final chapter discusses the action of drugs on contractile systems.

A major weakness of the book is that the material is restricted to data on vertebrate cells. Much important and innovative work on molecular mechanisms of cell motility has been carried out with invertebrate eukaryotes, and this needs to be included in any general textbook on cell motility. Although some specialized functions of contractile proteins found in invertebrates have no known parallels in higher organisms, actins and myosins are so highly conserved throughout eukaryotes that invertebrate models may yield valuable clues about contractility in vertebrates.

Although cell motility is a stimulating and exciting field, the author misses the opportunity to say so. His emphasis on factual information, rather than principles and ideas, is likely to mean that his book dates rather rapidly.

Harriet Harris

Harriet Harris is at the ARC Institute of Animal Physiology at Babraham, Cambridge.

Molecular tools

Techniques in Molecular Biology edited by John M. Walker and Wim Gastera
Croom Helm, £19.95 and £9.95
ISBN 0 7099 2747 9 and 2755 X

The now familiarly spectacular advances in molecular biology very much depend on the availability of new, or refined, analytical techniques. For this reason it is extremely important that students and practitioners alike have a clear idea of both the theoretical and practical approach to the subject at undergraduate level. It must be conceded, however, that techniques in this area are in a state of continual flux and the book, if it is to survive, will need regular updating.

R. H. Burdon

R. H. Burdon is professor of biochemistry at the University of Glasgow.

ERRATUM

In the issue of 4th November, the review of Sheldon Rose's *Introduction to Stochastic Dynamic Programming* was written by D. J. White, who is professor of decision theory at the University of Manchester.

Structural frames

Linear Analysis of Frameworks by T. R. Graves Smith
Ellis Horwood, Wiley, £25.00 and £9.95
ISBN 0 85312 613 5 and 614 3

An understanding of the methods of solution of structural frames is a fundamental requirement of civil and structural engineers. A knowledge of the linear behaviour of such frames is therefore a prerequisite to the appreciation of the more advanced non-linear topics such as stability or plastic behaviour.

Although linear analysis of framed structures has been extensively covered by a number of authors, the subject is continually developing both in content and approach. A new work on the topic can therefore only be justified if it contains either new technical developments or emphasizes techniques currently in favour. It is this latter approach that Dr Graves Smith has adopted, developing the subject around the computer-based methods of flexibility and stiffness.

His book has been thoughtfully developed into three sections treating fundamental concepts, determinate frameworks, and finally the matrix methods of flexibility and stiffness. An opening chapter, introducing the basic concepts of external and internal forces and of stress resultants, is followed by a discussion of deflections and the concept of work. As some knowledge of elementary strength of materials has been assumed, the author has only stated the stress-strain equations and the results of the engineering theory of bending.

The solution of statically determinate frames is then treated in two chapters, the first dealing with the calculation of forces and the second with the determination of displacements. In the description of forces, the author develops the ideas of static equilibrium extensively before intro-

ducing the determination of reactions and the calculation and plotting of stress resultants for beams and frames. Pin-jointed structures are then considered, the methods of joints, sections and tension coefficients being clearly and carefully explained. The calculation of displacements is very neatly described using the equation of virtual work and the application of the unit force method. Both pin-jointed and rigid-jointed frames are treated and finally the analysis is applied to the calculation of support settlement.

The first of the final three chapters is devoted to the flexibility method, beginning with a simple, clearly described example of the method applied to a pin-jointed structure with one redundancy. The matrix formulation is then developed - first illustrated with an example of a doubly redundant pin-jointed frame and then applied to the solution of structures involving flexure.

The stiffness method of analysis is given a rather lengthy treatment in the concluding two chapters. The first develops the method of analysis from a physical aspect, describing the formation of the global stiffness matrix from the member stiffness and transformation matrices, and applying the procedures to the solution of structures ranging from pin-jointed frame members to rigid jointed space structures; and the second is devoted to the systematic procedures by which it may be formulated for use in a general computer program.

Dr Graves Smith has prepared his material with much care and thought, and has produced a concise description of modern analytical techniques, a deeper appreciation of which may be obtained through the comprehensive set of problems given at the end of each chapter. As he states in his preface, his intention was to present the subject of linear framework analysis in an easily assimilable manner: in this aim he has been most successful.

D. J. Just

D. J. Just is lecturer in civil engineering at the University of Aston.

Heat and rust

Introduction to High Temperature Oxidation of Metals by N. Birks and G. H. Meier
Edward Arnold, £13.50
ISBN 0 7131 3464 X

The high temperature oxidation of metals and more particularly alloys, is an industrially important subject because all metallic materials at some stage in their manufacture are subject to exposure to an oxidizing environment. Many alloys are also used in circumstances where oxidation is inevitable - for example, the heating element of a domestic electric fire and the hot plate and heating surfaces of cookers. More exotic examples occur in aircraft engines and in power-generating plants. Many such alloys need to be resistant to oxidation.

The subject also excites intense scientific interest as the study of oxidation involves the thermodynamics, the kinetics of chemical reactions, phase transformations, and the whole spectrum of heat and mass transfer phenomena. It is not surprising therefore, that it has spawned an enormous volume of often-detailed literature. This book aims to provide an introduction to the fundamentals of oxidation, but in places progresses well beyond what one might regard as a basic exposition. Although it makes no attempt to serve as an exhaustive review of the literature and only gives selected references, it should provide a sound scientific appraisal for both undergraduates and professional materials scientists before they immerse themselves in a more detailed study.

The book adequately covers fundamental thermodynamics, phase stability, and equilibrium diagrams, together with the mechanisms of oxidation processes and the diffusion effects by which oxidation occurs. The kinetics of oxidation processes are dealt with in terms of classical theories for single-phase and multiple-phase oxide layers.

More detailed coverage is given to the complex protective films in alloys, electrochemical oxidation and the factors affecting the adherence of oxide layers.

(an important consideration when providing protection against further oxidation). Very complex oxidation and sulphidation phenomena are also discussed, together with hot corrosion and atmospheric control for the protection of metals. I wonder, however, whether the sections dealing with coatings for oxidation protection and decarburization of steels are really necessary to the main thrust of the book. Experimental methods for investigating oxidation behaviour are also briefly described.

This book is a useful introduction to the complexity of oxidation phenomena.

F. B. Pickering

F. B. Pickering is reader in metallurgy at Sheffield City Polytechnic.

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BOOKS

PSYCHOLOGY

Out of sight, out of mind

Managing the Mind: a study of medical psychology in early nineteenth-century Britain
by Michael Donnelly
Tavistock, £11.00 and £5.50
ISBN 0 422 78370 6 and 78380 3
Mental Illness and American Society 1875-1940
by Gerald N. Grob
Princeton University Press, £21.70
ISBN 0 691 08332 0

For a long neglected subject, the history of society's relationship to insanity has made remarkable progress during the past 15 years, certainly reflecting much more than the general inflation of academic activity. The product has been largely Anglo-American, though with some European contributions, of which Foucault's is the most interesting. If not the most reliable.

Starting with a predominantly social administration technique of telling it like it was and a Wittgenstein ideology of unbroken human progress, this scholarly effort has passed through the fires of Marxist and sociological revisionism, emerging in a more sophisticated form. There are those who remain firmly in their liberal or materialist postures, but the level of published information is now such as to provide no further excuse for arguing simply by assertion, even though Michael Donnelly concludes that it is still virtually impossible to assess from the actual extent of either the public health problems or individual disorders of insanity until the mid-nineteenth century.

Donnelly himself deals with the period 1790-1850 in Britain; Gerald Grob covers the period 1875-1940 in the United States. Both have produced considerable works of scholarship (Grob's containing nearly 1000 pages of notes and references) and both have something new to say. How regrettable then that the two books are very badly written; there is no need for such learned works to be boring, as has been shown repeatedly by Kathleen Jones and by Michael Macdonald in his fascinating *Mystical Bedlam* (Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Donnelly acknowledges his debt to Foucault's theory of a general normative "discipline" which developed at the end of the eighteenth century as a characteristic of bourgeois civilization and was equally in the techniques of penal, medical, educational and religious organizations. There were remarkable similarities then between the plans of new asylums, hospitals and prisons, and these formed the material basis for new conceptions of social relations, both among those confined and with those set above them. Like Jeremy Bentham's panopticon, which separated each prisoner from the anxious influence of his fellows while keeping him under unobtrusive observation, new mental hospitals maintained a discrete atmosphere of restraint, which was an essential part of "moral management", yet without the overt trappings of a prison. Late eighteenth-century proposals for lunacy reform were "an integral part of a greater reforming programme, which sought to rationalize and reconstruct the whole of social policy", but whether or not that constituted bourgeois discipline is a matter of ideology. (Grob describes a similar process in the American states, almost a century later.)

All this was in reaction, however, to the rumbustious and insanitary chaos of eighteenth-century life, so intensely portrayed by Hogarth and Rowlandson - as was the building of the first suburbs, where middle-class people could live in segregated and quieter life on their own. Donnelly is concerned with the cultural representations of madness, which influenced the growth of medical psychology. His other objective is to describe the historic shift in social policies which initiated the era of specialized mental institu-



The Infirmary, the men's ward of Bethlehem Hospital. From the *Illustrated Times* (1860), reprinted in Michael Donnelly's *Managing the Mind*.

tions, and in so doing "to work at cross-purposes against what are still commonly implicit assumptions". This means avoiding the backward projection of modern concepts, even including the category of the insane, which "emerged against considerable odds, and probably only because of the unusual prestige accorded... to medical psychology".

From this point of view, "It was not the social salience of insanity which produced the category [but] the mental characteristics" - hence the importance of that medical psychology; yet evidence within the book argues the other way. Until the first comprehensive Act of 1845, the law was not concerned with the mental aspects of insanity *per se*, but only with their social consequences; the confinement of lunatics and idiots therefore served broadly social purposes. Although their numbers (however defined) were completely unknown, an apprehensive feeling was in the air that these were growing rapidly in such "unsullied times" as the problem was particularly visible in towns, but Donnelly does not seem to be aware of the important hypothesis by Cooper and Sartorius, linking industrialization with increased levels of chronic schizophrenia. Both authors, in fact, are hampered by lack of a psychiatric perspective, because the main reason for the inexorable rise in the size of asylums in both countries was the chronicity of much schizophrenic illness. Once a "fitted receptacle" existed, it was filled to overflowing with such cases, but understanding this process is as much a matter of epidemiology as of social policy.

Donnelly rightly focuses on "moral treatment" as the critical concept in the process of transition to the modern era; psychological restraint which stemmed from the noble example of a paternal physician then stood in contrast to the locks, chains and brutality of old Bedlam. The approach was essentially an individual one, with prescription of specific tasks, diver-

sions, and human interactions that could guide the diseased mind back to the habits of sanity; phenology fitted well with this, and had the further advantage of being a medical monopoly. Much learned dispute occurred, however, as to whether civilization of which England was considered here to be the most advanced example) tended to promote or to reduce insanity; there were precisely opposite views on this, as there are today on the effects of affluence.

But for one whose purpose is to avoid looking at the past with the eyes of today, Donnelly makes some surprising statements. The pathological accounts of mental diseases around 1800 were "poorly defined, if at all"; the link between "moral insanity" and the poor was proposed in "muddled and badly prejudicial terms"; understanding of the physical causes of insanity was "rudimentary or often fanciful". From today's standpoint, all this was just as true of the rest of medicine at the time, but who's being ahistorical now? An even greater drawback to the book is its convoluted and at times impenetrable language, of which "historically and logically prior sedimentary levels" is an example. It may just reveal an American sociologist, or it may conceal some loose thinking, but either way, it ought to have been savaged by an editor before publication.

Neither is lucid prose a feature of the second book. The Grob wagon train has been plodding its ponderous way across the American historical landscape for some considerable time now, with social policy on the mentally ill as its main objective. The author is never a person to use one word where two will do, and so we get "moulded and shaped" or "autonomous and free", as well as much repetition of conclusions. To make matters worse, the situations described often vary from state to state, and we are spared no detail of how New Hampshire differed from Delaware in the minutiae of its laws

and mental health provision. Such parochial matters, as well as the byzantine manoeuvrings of professional associations would have been better dispersed into journal articles, leaving the book to paint a broad picture of the subject in America as a whole.

For the determined reader, there are in fact many important findings to be unearthed, although Professor Grob tends to refer to purely American terms to a number of developments which occurred just as much in Britain and other industrialized countries. Although his researches have been exhaustive in the United States, they have not extended very widely outside it to provide any comparative setting.

Moral treatment was as important in the first American mental hospitals as it had been, somewhat earlier, in England; its emphasis on the interaction of individuals with their environment and on the need to create a therapeutic milieu was a surprisingly modern resonance. In the 12 colonies, family and parish care of the poor and insane were largely modelled on the Elizabethan Poor Law - a system which broke down in both countries in the face of population growth, urbanization and social mobility. The result was growth of a complex institutional structure, founded on an ideology of short-term cure, but in fact providing minimum levels of care for continuously growing numbers of those who could not survive by themselves. In America, the chronic mentally ill were joined there, particularly after about 1890, by more and more of the aged and physically sick, as local communities found this was a way of off-loading their dependents on to the state system.

In the 1960s, this process was to go into reverse: states emptied their mental hospitals into the federally funded sector, but the "deinstitutionalization" was more apparent than real. Meanwhile, psychiatry, which had been product of the mental hospitals, transferred its interest and activities to private practice and non-institutional work.

Grob provides a useful corrective to such anti-asylum sociologists as Goffman, pointing out that the hospitals' imperfections and limitations were little different from those of most human institutions. There are even more dramatic events to be told in his next volume, which would be far more effective in a much briefer format.

Hugh Freeman
Hugh Freeman is senior consultant psychiatrist at the Hope Hospital, Salford, and editor of "British Journal of Psychiatry".

A collection of papers by Michael Shepherd has been published as *The Psychosocial Matrix of Psychiatry* by Tavistock at £14.95. The papers are arranged under five headings: epidemiology; public health; health services; education; and history.

learning terms. The fact that we as adults recognize that the moral is orthogonal to, or independent of, all authority and power structures, and all cultural or group norms, should have made us question this orthodoxy as an adequate account of moral development. Turiel's finding that young children are already beginning to understand this leaves us with no excuse to rethink it.

I have only one minor critical point to make about what is undoubtedly a seminal book. Turiel devotes a whole chapter to Piaget. On the basis of his own much more thorough and comprehensive research he rightly argues that Piaget's claim that the child's understanding of morality is initially heteronomous must be radically revised. In my view, however, he does not do justice to the fact that in Piaget's monograph there are almost development tracing the ever more sophisticated and articulate separation of them in subjects of all ages up to adulthood. The domains are not only distinguished but coordinated, and Turiel indicates something of the richness and subtlety with which older subjects relate.

The implications of these findings for existing theories of moral development are discussed in detail. The prevailing orthodoxy in this area has assumed that children are introduced to the concept of morality by being inducted to accept the rules of adult institutions, or groups, whether the process of such induction is understood in psychoanalytical or social

Derek Wright
Derek Wright is professor of education at the University of Leicester.

Paper presented at a conference at Brighton, Polytechnic in May 1981 have been edited by Sohni Modgil, Celia Modgil and Geoffrey Brown and published as *Jean Piaget and Interdisciplinary Critique* by Routledge at £22.95.

BOOKS

PSYCHOLOGY

What is cognitive science?

Mental Models: towards a cognitive science of language, inference, and consciousness

by P.N. Johnson-Laird
Cambridge University Press,
£27.50 and £9.95
ISBN 0 521 24123 5 and 27391 9

Johnson-Laird's book is a worthy and important contribution to a new field that can be loosely characterized as those parts of psychology, philosophy, and more recently linguistics and neurophysiology, concerned with the nature of mind. There is, however, an important name missing from that list: the stimulus for the creation of cognitive science was the rise of artificial intelligence (AI).

A touch of colour

Colour Vision: physiology and psychology
edited by J.D. Mollon and L.T. Sharpe
Academic Press, £28.00
ISBN 0 12 504280 9

Colour vision is a fascinating topic, if only because it confronts us unmistakably with the subjective nature of our sensory experience. A "yellow" patch of colour can be made to appear "green" by the simple expedient of looking at it after staring for a few moments at a bright "red" light. Furthermore, the colour experiences of different people do not agree. It is a bit of a shock made by a colour analogy to the fact that a sort of white could be produced from red, green and blue alone could be used as an argument against Newton's proposal that white light (from the sun) contained all kinds of light.

Trichromy depends on the presence in the human eye of just three kinds of receptor with different peak sensitivities at different parts of the spectrum, as first suggested by Young in 1801, and by Helmholtz later in the century. As the recent conference on colour vision in Cambridge made clear, there is no serious doubt about the correctness of this theory, however much may be left to discover about the processes of colour vision itself. The proceedings of that conference formed the basis for this comprehensive guide to research in this field.

We now know that the three different kinds of cone have different spectral sensitivity curves; we know the precise shape and area of those curves; and we know that one or more of these kinds of cone may be missing in cases of colour deficiency. Unanimity on those issues is a relief, or should be, to psychologists studying vision, who are now relieved of a professional obligation to propound unlikely alternatives.

The existence of three receptor classes was first suspected from purely psychological observation, such as that of trichromy. Because such studies require strict control of physical stimuli, the discipline has become known as "psychophysics"; and it has been pursued with equal vigour by physicists, physiologists and (during the past hundred years) by psychologists. As the editors of *Colour Vision* say in their introduction, the subject has never been the private preserve of any single one of the conventional disciplines of science. Using laborious techniques, psychophysicists have now amassed evidence consistent with the three-receptor theory. At the end of the day, however, the evidence that can be obtained from such a complex system is only: constrain the possible mechanisms; it cannot eliminate logically consistent alternatives even if they are intuitively implausible.

One example is that of the psychophysicists' "channels", which are logical constructs properly speaking, but which are sometimes identified enthusiastically with physical mechanisms. A very interesting recent development, made explicit by several contributions to *Colour Vision* is that the separate "colour" and "luminance" channels of psychophysicists may not correspond at all to different neural pathways. The fact that the

study of mind with the aid of complex computer programs.

AI is, in effect, *primitus inter pares* among the disciplines making up cognitive science, since what focuses interest in the new field is the various impacts of the "machine metaphor" model of mind" on their traditional concerns. Without that focus, no new subject would be coming into being, any more than it was when philosophers, psychologists and logicians compared notes on the nature of mind throughout much of the earlier part of this century.

The book's subtitle provides a useful guide to what cognitive science actually is. It consists in two main activities. First, philosophers and psychologists, among others, make use of the most sophisticated AI programs currently available as metaphors, the logical limits of which can be tested - in the case of philosophy; or as the basis of theories - within their own disciplines - in the case of psychology, linguistics, and so on. Most participants would agree that, during this phase of discussion, the hardware-software distinction (that is, computers as opposed to their programs), and the nature of the control structures of programs now available, have fundamentally altered the nature of the mind-machine analogy since it was first explored by Descartes and Leibniz.

Second, AI researchers, in differing degrees, try to make their "intelligent

programs" conform to the experimental limits that psychologists, say, have established. For example, it is well attested by psychologists that the English read from left to right, and so an intelligent program that could understand English, but read it from right to left, would not be a good model in cognitive science, however excellent its comprehension, unless - and here is the interesting possibility - the constructor of the program could persuade psychologists to look again at reading, because of his program's success, and to reconsider whether readers may, in fact, simply put English sentences into a storage buffer, moving their eyes from left to right, and then "process" it in their brains, but from right to left. This suggestion is not wholly frivolous, for it shows the difficulty of bringing any one of these contributing disciplines to bear decisively on another when there are so many unknowns in play, in particular as to how the brain actually works.

A real problem comes in classifying books like this one. One does not need to be a very firm adherent of the tradition of operationalism - that the significance of scientific terms is closely related to the procedures carried out in the appropriate field - to have such worries. When confronted by a claim in psychology, one looks at the experiments, by claim in linguistics at the generalizations about data, in AI by the performance of the programs, and

so on. But in an essay, like this book, that draws on all these disciplines, but is actually within none of them, how can one tell what is to be believed, since cognitive science has, as yet, no distinctive tradition of telling right from wrong research.

The author is an eminent psychologist, but the book contains few or no experimental results, other than some chapters demonstrating that we do not reason with syllogisms, which is reassuring. But which of us, since the medieval theologians, believed we did? Cognitive science will undoubtedly develop its own assessment procedures in time, but until then we are stuck with those of the component disciplines, and they do not fit together to make any greater whole, above and beyond some form of "theoretical psychology", one in which the experiments become too complex to perform (because the data is too multi-dimensional) so that one must fall back on an appeal in the performance of AI programs. The trouble is that, just as some psychologists are giving up experiments, so some AI workers are giving up actually writing programs, and the real intellectual danger is that cognitive science could become only an abstract and barren no-man's-land where bloodless firm combatants met.

Much of the book is tutorial in style, and some of that has no particular cognitive science content - in that, like

the section on model-theoretic semantics, it does not bear directly on any particular theory of the mind. References to modern philosophers of mind abound, although none of their detailed arguments are considered, and even then the references are more to what the author's friends have been up to lately, rather than to a full scan of the literature and contemporary scholarship. But the claims are always interesting, even when they seek to show that phenomena like consciousness must either be mystical or be the expression of effective computational procedures, unless they are simply large-scale phenomena that cannot be modelled by computer, such as the weather. This ignores clear and concrete cases, like the three-bodies-under-gravitation problem, which can be shown to be not effectively computable but which are not at all like the weather with its "large scale" effects.

Yorick Wilks

Yorick Wilks is director of the Centre for Cognitive Studies at the University of Essex.

Number four in the series *Psychology Survey* has been edited by John Nicholson and Brian Pans and published by the British Psychological Society at £12.50.

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BOOKS

PSYCHOLOGY

Sociable animals?

Consciousness Regained: chapters in the development of mind
by Nicholas Humphrey
Oxford University Press, £12.95
ISBN 0 19 217732 X

What is due to make of a book put together to make the points the author would have made had he sat down and written the "real book" he was wanting to write? Perhaps the most natural first response is irritation. However, in rescuing Nicholas Humphrey from his predicament, Oxford University Press has done us a service but one of which the main point might easily be missed. What we have here is a collection of articles from academic conferences, proceedings, popular science journals and broadcasts added to book size with some old reviews and the important Bronowski Memorial Lecture of October 1981.

These articles, now assembled as chapters, are disturbingly repetitive and replete with overlapping arguments. Had the main theme of the first eight chapters been represented in a new statement of about the same length we would have the meat without the midweek. As it is, the three new chapters Humphrey has managed to write are among the best in the book and the position he adopts towards mental evolution is not only original and important but also deserves the extended treatment it does not receive here. Indeed, the work has a sort of posthumous feel, as if Humphrey has now been transplanted to another realm. And this is probably why the collection reminds me of those articles put together by the friends of Kenneth Craik, that brilliant Cambridge psychologist who died young soon after the war. Why has Humphrey done it this way - especially when one knows he is alive, active and as intellectually persuasive as ever?

In fact all those apologies in the preface are quite unnecessary. True this is not a real book or a definitive statement but Humphrey does not need to make one. A critic, better than the author, may grasp the fact that here we have that rare phenomenon -

a first-class writer of essays. As essayist Humphrey is superb. Perhaps he will never write his great book. No more - essays are good enough. Each of these pieces comes in a chiselled twentieth-century prose given precision by a scientific intelligence that is humorous, sensitive and profoundly concerned with the problems of the present day. In the same spirit the gentle but devastating debunking of Alistair Hardy, the Uni Geller supporters and Gregory Bateson almost succeeds in enhancing these authors' reputations while letting their trousers down.

In these "essays" then Nicholas Humphrey has two main messages. The first concerns the evolution of human consciousness and the second the psychology of our inability to cope with the Bomb. Both themes demand our attention.

To understand the significance of Humphrey's theory of mental evolution we have to recognize that he is writing in a time of major change in psychological thinking. Humphrey trades in the difficult interface between experiments and social psychology. It is precisely in this area that the shift away from the tight empiricism of the behaviourism that has dominated psychology for so long to the functionalist approaches of modern cognitive theory is most significant. Behaviourism was only concerned with the laws of behaviour and not the mechanism. The problems of the processes mediating stimulus and the response were strangely and dogmatically ignored. That an animal might think before it responded went too much against the grain.

Yet it is the representation of the environment that an animal (including man) must seem to hold if complex decisions are to be taken that forms the life-blood of cognitive theory. If "representations" are essential to cognitive theory where are they held? We do not know but it must be in the brain. And the brain has a history - an evolution. Therefore, whatever the processes that govern representation may be, they too are subject to evolution and thus become a biological as well as a psychological problem. Humphrey is not only a brilliant experimental psychologist but also assistant director of the prestigious animal behaviour laboratory at Madingley outside Cambridge. He is well aware of contemporary evolutionary debates and these have thrown his preoccupations with mental process into an original perspective.

An animal may not always be conscious of the environmental "representations" that comprise the information it has about the world. Does a spider "know" what it is doing? Through self-awareness we humans at



*The filius or rex in the form of a hermaphrodite. From Rosarium Philosophorum (1550), reprinted in C. G. Jung's *Alchemical Studies*, translated by R. F. C. Hull and published by Routledge & Kegan Paul at £8.95.*

least know that the events in progress involve this thing I call myself. How did that sort of consciousness - which William James called the "me" - evolve?

Humphrey points out that animals with complex social lives have complex communication systems; they indulge in transactions. "One animal may, for instance, wish to change the behaviour of another; but since the second animal is himself reactive and intelligent the interaction soon becomes a two-way argument where each player must be ready to change tactics - and maybe his goals - as the game proceeds." To do this well an animal needs to be able to read off the intentions of the other from his behaviour in order to "calculate" an appropriate response. By a kind of mimicry the animal needs to be able to generate in itself the implicit responses it perceives in the other. To make sense of these the animal must, however, be able to "feel" them. Having emotions is thus a way of feeling how one is (what one's motivation is) in order to predict what a companion showing the external signs of feelings may be about to do. In individuals who are good social predictors concerned with reproductive competition. The ability to feel in order to know the other would thus have originated in an evolved social function. It thus follows that only sufficiently sociable animals would be "conscious".

Humphrey was one of the first thinkers to propose a theory of the origin of consciousness and intellect. His ideas are important and provide the foundations for a cognitive ethology. Debate, of course, continues. For example, social relations are a class of object relations and it is plausible that wherever complex decision making is required a degree of conscious self-representation may be desirable even if it is at a mere proprioceptive level. On the other hand, if consciousness is a more self-conscious than the more environmentally orientated cat. Their self-awareness may be related to different representations of the environment determined by differential attentiveness to their worlds. Itself a result of natural selection. Indeed, had Humphrey extended his self more in these essays he would doubtless have taken up these and similar points.

Sadly we humans do not always know what we do. We can only understand where we are by reference to the future. When we find ourselves disoriented, and that Humphrey believes is one main reason for the terrible inadequate human response to the threat of the Bomb, Humphrey's deeply felt and courageous Bronowski Memorial Lecture is just as important today when, in addition to natural

blindness, the governments of our time spend public money in deliberate campaigns designed to smear the honest intentions of those with even a little insight. The role of an essay such as this is to make us more conscious of our difficulty. The academic does not condone the "enemy", he points out where the problem lies and, by reading off what is the situation for the enemy as well as for ourselves, can prepare the ground for understanding and negotiation.

Today it seems that half the population of this country expects nuclear war in our time, half demands at least a freeze in the deployment of nuclear weapons. Some I know are almost welcoming the prospect of destruction so sick are they of their intellectually numbing despair. Yet others, millions of them, are at lost in protest and taking to the streets. The politicians prattle on, held in the prisoners' dilemma of a super power game that seems at times to have no plausible resolution other than the end of civilization itself. Humphrey's analysis of the psychology of this situation is cogent, important and must be read. For this alone you should buy this book. For this alone Humphrey must go on thinking and writing these pertinent, critical and provoking essays. I feel sure he will, for the burden of the academic in our times is to go on saying what must be said.

John H. Crook

John H. Crook is reader in psychology at the University of Bristol, and author of *"The Evolution of Human Consciousness"* (1980).

Human factor

Personality: measurement and theory
by Paul Kline
Hutchinson, £10.95 and £4.95
ISBN 0 09 1307103 and 1307111
Theory of Personality and Individual Differences: Factors, systems, and processes
by Joseph R. Royce and Arnold Powell
Prentice-Hall, £26.95
ISBN 0 13 914730 0

At a level especially suited to senior undergraduates, Kline provides a clear and useful manual on personality tests, and, where these obtain, their underlying scientific theories. At a more advanced level, Royce and Powell present a systematic conceptual framework for the study of individual differences, which is founded on the cooperative research of some 20 psychologists working at the University

of Alberta for various times over a period of about 20 years.

Kline, as befits the only reader in psychometrics in this country (at the University of Exeter), is strongly committed to the position that personality is the sum total of the characteristics (traits) of an individual which contribute to his behaviour, to his being human, different from others - "measured"; and that these measurements can be inserted into the linear specification equations appropriate to any behaviour. The resultant relations can then be used in educational, occupational and clinical psychology.

His conviction, with its emphasis on the central importance of factor analysis - an established mathematical procedure which reveals the underlying structure of the correlations between test scores - is rigorously argued, and is refreshing to read a vigorous defence of personality trait quantification. Royce and Powell in their theory of individuality also make use of factor analysis. And by relating this to systems and information processing, development as metamorphosis, factor-gene and meta-learning, they are able to present a conceptual model which they believe can describe changes in behaviour during the entire lifespan of an individual.

The work of the two most influential objective theorists of personality, H. J. Eysenck and R. B. Cattell, is incorporated in a chapter by Kline and incorporated by Royce and Powell into their individuality theory. Kline emphasizes that Eysenck's basic replicable dimensions of extraversion, neuroticism and psychotism do not have a physiological basis. It is surely the potential of investigating this subtle scientific theories of personality from those resting on the fantastical, untestable projections of depth psychology, and to overcome with facts the prevalent assumptions that assessment procedures are intrinsically suspect and that people are really all the same. However, in an earlier chapter, Kline has assembled results which suggest that even the verbal responses to lab tests can be objectively scored.

Kline examines the evidence for Eysenck's claims fairly, but the latter's "typological" postulate unfortunately becomes a "topological" one, implying that the theory is incapable of change in the face of counter-evidence. He concludes that predictions from Eysenck's theory are supported in half of the experiments conducted to test them. When it comes to the latter, however, Eysenck's win on points against Cattell who seems to have created a complicated theoretical structure that is "not buttressed by powerful empirical findings". Indeed, given the parsimony of Eysenck's theory, many psychologists might prefer to consume his nourishing half rather than starve in the labyrinth of Cattell's structured learning theory.

Nevertheless, Cattell's VIDAS model is a monumental attempt to create a "standard systems analysis" model with cybernetic control that model with information and energy applied to behaviour. There are seven components to the system, including memory storage and the "trait properties of the organism - skills and temperament". Thus, a connection is established between personality and cognition: between temperament and the processes of memory and intelligence.

Just such a connexion is vested in the grand design of Royce and Powell, who have sensory systems which feed information into the "cognitive system", the primary function of which is postulated to be the "detection or combination of invariants". The complications of their system, however, may be the inevitable result of, as they put it, "the search for an integrative understanding of ourselves as individuals embedded in complex physical and cultural environments".

Their search even attempts to include "style and value integrative systems" and an examiner's personal meaning. Check out *Cherry Orchard* by comes a place "where a group of aristocrats are identified with a clear enough value hierarchy, but the value in which they invest are no longer visible"; thus, even literary criticism disappears into their system.

The two books are well worth reading.

R. E. Rawles
R. E. Rawles is lecturer and departmental tutor in psychology at University College London.

THE TIMES HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT 18.11.83

BOOKS

PSYCHOLOGY

Abstract models

The Development of Perception, Cognition and Language: a theoretical approach
by Paul van Geert
Routledge & Kegan Paul, £17.50
ISBN 0 7100 9430 5

Theories about children's psychological development have been having a rough ride lately. The trouble is that it is proving more and more difficult to demonstrate that anything develops at all. By devising more ingenious and more sensitive ways of probing children's ability psychologists have been able to show that even very young babies can perceive, remember and understand things that hitherto have been thought to be quite impossible even for very much older children. Abilities which were thought to develop slowly during childhood have been shown to be there, so to speak, right from the start.

As one developmental claim after another has crumbled we have all become increasingly aware of an inherent weakness in the notion of development itself. To show that psychological mechanisms develop in the way that Piaget or Plagel claimed you have to prove a negative. You have to demonstrate the non-existence in young children of a psychological mechanism which anyway can never be observed directly, and this is a very difficult thing to do. That is why very little theoretical progress has been made in child psychology recently, and it is also why Paul van Geert's book, which is nothing more than an exercise in developmental theory, comes as something of a surprise.

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Paul Blackwell



Illustration taken from Alan V. Jones's *Science for Handicapped Children*, a guide for parents and teachers of handicapped children published by Souvenir Press at £7.95 and £5.95.

It would be wrong to say that van Geert has a theory about development. In fact he has several. His theoretical ideas are diverse, because he takes a rather novel approach to theorizing. His opinion is that "the investigation of the early states of perceptual development requires not only a thorough empirical investigation of the perceiving subject but also a formal study of the objects - space, objects, events - of the perceptual world. This 'formal study' of the objects of perception dominates the book. Each chapter on perception starts with a long and usually complicated description of the spatio-temporal characteristics of what is perceived. This then dictates the model that he offers of the sort of psychological mechanisms which could account for this sort of perception. Different aspects of perception: different models.

These models are invariably complex and difficult to understand and they are never directly tested. Having set up each model van Geert's inevitable next step is to review the evidence on children to see whether very young children do perceive whatever is in question and therefore whether the model could be applied to them. The answer is invariably a damp squib. Either there is no good evidence ("if we overview the available research we may conclude that the kind of theoretical question we are interested in") or the evidence shows that young babies do perceive whatever is in question ("we conclude that the most plausible initial-state model is the one in which all functional operators are present at least in a rudimentary state").

This leaves us with two worrying gaps. First, we are told that the book is about development but it establishes nothing developmental. Second, nothing is done to show whether the theoretical models themselves, which in any case are never carefully developed, are in fact supported by the evidence on children to perceive whatever it is that the models are said to account for does not demonstrate that the models account for that perception.

The book starts with perception and ends with meaning. The perceptual chapters are on the whole well informed, although occasionally van Geert slips. His account of the evidence on perception of depth, for example, is woefully inadequate, although his conclusions about it fit in reasonably well with the experimental work he has to mention. His section on children's ability to integrate information coming through different senses, however, is misleading because it fails to make a clear distinction between the development of individual senses such as vision or touch and the development of links between them. There never has been the slightest shred of evidence for the latter kind of development and yet van Geert implies that it does happen.

The later chapters on cognition are less comprehensive and more idiosyncratic. Indeed one chapter is distinctly eccentric. This deals with representational development - a popular and much reviewed topic - but the chapter is completely devoted to an attack on the obscure views of a pair of authors (Meltzoff and Moore) on this topic. In this and in the other chapters on cognition and language in children most of the central questions which have occupied child psychologists for years are left to their strengths or

strengthened in their weaknesses. The student and specialist practitioner may be able to appreciate the difficulties but it is less likely that teachers and parents will be helped by Jorm's book. However, if they are prompted to think more about the differences between reading and spelling difficulties this can only be to the good.

Chall writes not about a minority group but about mainstream education. She raises some important issues which are certainly worth thinking about. Progress in reading can be characterized either as a broad-based and broad-fronted development or as a sequence of qualitatively different stages. If the latter, are the stages to be described by localizing skill in the reader or by identifying demands in the curriculum?

Chall settles for stages, but in justifying her choice by reference to literature on both psycholinguistics and the curriculum does not distinguish between these might affect the description of stages. To what extent is the research into psycholinguistic skills in reading directed by preconceived notions based in curriculum practice, and how is curriculum practice influenced by ideas of child development? Chall does not deal with these questions, but they may well occupy the reader's mind and dispose towards an evaluative rather than accepting attitude towards her thesis. Such a discerning reader might wish that Chall had drawn on cross-cultural evidence to test rather than to prop up ideas derived largely from education in the United States.

Even within that provision Chall nevertheless finds problems and experiences that go some way to eroding her thesis. For example, she sees the novice's efforts to seek meaning as being superseded by a stage of concentration on explicit effort to decode from print to sound before the search for meaning is resumed at a third stage. She is aware, however, that the decoding stage is not apparent in all learners, and certainly varies in the time given to it by both learners and teachers. She also observes that explicit decoding can be taught to be related to text can be taught to be to stage, and decoders are not oblivious of the need to read for meaning. The reader must wonder whether stages are nothing more than an artefact of the curriculum, particularly that in American schools.

Similarly, Chall is very concerned about the difficulty which grade four children in the United States have in developing from fluent enough reading of simple narrative text towards intelligent reading of non-fiction and more difficult fiction. She suspects that the emphasis on narrative in the early grades derives from the development of "child-centred" primary education with its leaning towards "fun" rather than from the full range of interests of young children, so she recommends the earlier introduction of non-fiction. This also undermines her description of stages. Furthermore, she acknowledges the difficulties encountered in relation to provision according to stage in that some children can read remarkably well before they enter school, whereas others are always out of phase in the other direction.

Despite these difficulties Chall does succeed in emphasizing the dependence of the reader on adequate experience and cognitive maturity to deal with various kinds of text, and she draws out the importance of understanding the use of reading for different purposes. If she had been less swayed by the view that reading is taught and learned, the learner needing adequate stimulation, and more by an appreciation of the urge to mastery in environments that provide pay-off, she might have been less attached to an invariant stage model and more open to reconsidering curriculum issues. As it is, there is a real possibility that she will simply be seen to be broadly confirming current American practice. It is to be hoped that such an effect does not run off on to education in this country.

Hazel Francis

Hazel Francis is professor of educational psychology at the Institute of Education, University of London.

An "updated" edition of Joanne S. Chall's *Learning to Read: the great debate* has been published by McGraw-Hill at £15.95. A new introduction, reviewing and evaluating the changes in practice and theory during the past fifteen years, precedes a reprint of the 1967 edition.

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